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**CALCUTTA REVIEW.**

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*No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.*

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# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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NO. CXLVII.

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## ART. I.—TIBET AND THE WAY THITHER.

THE failure of the noted Russian traveller, Colonel Prjevalsky, to reach Lhasa, should not induce either the Indian Government or those who happen to be interested in the question to treat with indifference the subject of our relations with the mysterious country lying beyond the northern frontier of India. Colonel Prjevalsky's attempt was one of a most interesting character, both in the cause of geographical research, and also as indirectly affecting several political questions of importance; and, although it failed to attain the degree of success the gallantry of the explorer deserved, it was productive of sufficiently practical results to encourage others to resume the attempt on some favourable opportunity. While, therefore, the prospect of Russian influence penetrating into Tibet recedes for the time, it would be a mistaken view on our part to imagine that the idea of trade intercourse between Kiachta, or Semipalatinsk, and Lhasa has been permanently abandoned by the Russian authorities. The design has only been laid aside for a more fitting occasion, and this interval furnishes us with an advantage that we should not be slow to seize.

The two facts can hardly be forgotten, that Tibet is our close neighbour, and that Sir Thomas Wade obtained for this country, in the treaty of Chefoo, the right to despatch a mission to its capital. That concession, it is said, the Chinese consider annulled by the lapse of time, but it is difficult to perceive, from the wording of the treaty itself, how that view can be sustained. At all events, as it would be a very unfortunate proceeding to force ourselves or our representative upon either the



Chinese or their subjects, the Tibetans, it will be admitted, that the enforcement of this clause requires a fresh expression of consent on the part of the Chinese Government. Considering the anomalous condition of the relations which subsist between England and China along the land frontier of the two great Empires, it is, to say the least, doubtful policy to forego points which appear calculated to promote a friendly feeling between the two countries. In face of the journeys of Mr. Baber and Captain Gill across China, and of the repeated tours of Mr. Morrison in the heart of the country, it can no longer be argued that the people are bitterly inimical to the presence of Europeans. The hostility appears to emanate rather from the minor officials than from the mass of the people, and the officials dare not act in opposition to the clearly expressed commands of the Government. The consent of the Central authorities being obtained afresh, there need be no apprehension, that the entry of our representatives into Tibet would be opposed by the Chinese mandarins. The advantages of intercourse with Tibet are only remotely connected with politics, and may be rather classed under the head of commercial improvements. But greater store will be set by most persons on the fact that it would be taking a step towards improving our relations with the Chinese, whom we so imperfectly understand. It would be placing our neighbourly relations on a new footing with a Power whose history and present condition alike command our respect and attention.

Within the last three years the subject of Tibet has attracted considerable notice in this country, mainly perhaps due to the writings of Mr. Clements Markham. Certainly it is to the publication of "The mission of George Bogle to Tibet" in the early part of the year 1876, that all the discussions that have since ensued about the land of the Lamas is to be attributed. Never was a book published at a more opportune moment. The failure of the Mandalay route, and the uncertain future before us in our relations with China, gave a general interest to the chronicle of past ill-success in a similar direction, at the same time that the story served to remind us that another road to China from India existed than that through the dominions of the King of Burmah. It is permissible to believe that the work of Mr. Clements Markham made an impression on the mind of Sir Thomas Wade, and that the practical result of this publication, relating to the only English missions to Tibet—the first two official, and the third unofficial in character—was nothing less than the insertion of the clause relating to a mission to Lhasa in the treaty of Chefoo. In India there have always been advocates for a repetition of Bogle's mission, and, indeed, it is not in the character of the English



to admit of the existence of a mystery, such as Tibet was and still is, a very few miles beyond the frontier of their dominions. Although, therefore, no Englishman has, since Manning, penetrated into Tibet, many have ascended the peaks of the Himalayas, and the majority of the passes in Sikhim, at all events, have been explored. The preliminary stages have, during the last 40 years, been mastered, and it only now remains for some fortunate official to reap the reward that the energy and indomitable courage of a whole generation have been enlisted to secure. Tibet is the vast country which lies between the two mountain ranges, the Kuen Lun and the Himalaya. In its own language it is called Bhot, and by the Chinese it is known as 'Tsang. It has been divided into three natural divisions, Eastern, Western and Central, but it is only with the last or Metropolitan State that we are at present concerned. The early history of the country is wrapped in a thick mist of fable, and, so far as our knowledge of its extensive literature yet goes, we are unable to do more than grope uncertainly in the darkness. It is not until the end of the 14th century that we are able to discern events that are tangible, and that for us the history of Tibet may be said to commence. Before that time there were Lamas, and the Buddhist religion was supreme; but neither the Dalai nor the Teshu titles had been created. The rulers of Lhasa had no claims to the special sanctity that is now their prerogative and birthright, if it is appropriate to apply the latter term to a spiritual being, who is never supposed to lose vitality. The State was ruled by its native Lamas in some sort of ill-defined dependency upon the sovereigns of Peking. The Buddhist Church in Tibet had fallen into evil ways at the period referred to, and there was urgent necessity for the appearance of a reformer, when, in reply to the prayers of the people, one came in the person of Tsong Khapa. The origin, according to the partial legend of the Tibetan Luther, was no ordinary one. His father, Lombo Moka, lived in the fertile regions south of Koko Nor, where the two mighty rivers Yang-tse and Hoang Ho find an almost common source. Here he, with his wife Chingtsia-Tsio, is depicted for us as passing a happy, contented existence, far from the commotions that disturbed the neighbouring States, and uncontaminated by the prevailing corruption. One grief alone oppressed them, that to prove these dwellers in Aindo were after all mortals like the rest, and that was the absence of children. Years passed on, and still Chingtsia-Tsio proved barren, till at last they both became resigned to their lot. One day, during the absence of her husband, Chingtsia met with an adventure which was destined to bear fruit of no ordinary import. Or her



way to the place where she drew the household water, she fell into a trance, and sank senseless on a large stone on which were graven characters in honour of Sakya Muni. Nine months after this occurrence she gave birth to a son, who was called Tsong Khapa, from the name of the mountain at the foot of which this had taken place. At an early age he entered the church, and eventually became Abbot of Galdan, near Lhasa. It was he, then, who by steady reform swept away most of the abuses which had crept into the order of the Lamas, and more than any other did he contribute to exalt the priesthood of Tibet among their neighbours as the purest and most enlightened of the exponents of the doctrines of the Buddha. The work he had carried on from the neighbourhood of Lhasa was supplemented by that accomplished by Gedun-tubpa in the southern portion of the country. A contemporary of Tsong Khapa, the latter survived him many years, and the work he left behind him was consequently of a more permanent nature. His rule was confined to the neighbourhood of Shigatze; but there it was supreme. His successor became distinguished as the Teshu Lama. At this time there was no Dalai Lama; consequently the inferior title dates further back than the superior. A very accurate idea may be obtained of the difference between these titles by the chief epithet that is applied to their respective holders. The Dalai is the gem of majesty; the Teshu, the gem of learning. The sixth descendant of Gedun-tubpa, and consequently the 5th Teshu, by name Nawang Lobsang, brought the whole of Tibet under his sway, and was the common ancestor of the three great Lamas, the Dalai of Lhasa, the Teshu of Shigatze, and the Taranath of Urga beyond Gobi. In 1650 the Tibetan ruler entered into the closest alliance with Chuntche, the Emperor of China. The Manchu conquest had just been consummated, and the new Emperor was pleased to secure the good services of the the priestly order of Tibet. Their influence has always been much solicited by the present dynasty, and, so far as we are justified in speaking, they have been consistent in their support of the Peking authorities. Nawag Lobsang was publicly created, by order of Chuntche, Dalai Lama, which signifies Ocean Lama, his ability being thus proclaimed to be as deep and as unfathomable as the sea. He was therefore the first Dalai and the fifth Teshu, but the former soon became recognised as the higher title, that specially attaching to the ruler of Lhasa. From that day to the present so far as our most recent intelligence goes, the two Lamas have continued to rule in Tibet, although the Chinese have encroached in many ways on their governing privileges.

The wars with Nepaul have afforded plausible excuses for this



extension of the authority of the Chinese Ambaus, but, if we may accept the Abbé Huc as a trustworthy witness, the number of the Chinese garrison has been grossly exaggerated. It used to be believed that it consisted of 60,000 Chinese troops, always maintained in a high degree of efficiency. From the missionary's interesting account 10,000 would appear to be too high an estimate, and these deficient in every requisite of an army. It should be stated, however, that, even if this evidence were correct at the time, the Chinese army is now greatly superior to what it was in that year. Since then it has virtually been recreated. On the other hand, outside the circles of the priests, of whose real convictions we know absolutely nothing, there is much antipathy on the part of the Tibetans towards the Chinese. Some would have us believe that this aversion is deep rooted, and that one day or another it will find a vent in a general rising against the mandarins. That they regard the Chinese as "a gross and impure race of men," is not to be wondered at, when we remember that the only Chinese in the country are the soldiers and some of the lower grades of the official classes. There is undoubtedly a kind of prophecy believed in by many of the people that a grand era is yet to dawn for their country, and that the true doctrines of Buddhism will sweep all error from amongst the surrounding nations, and result in the supremacy of Tibet, and its ruling priesthood. Such are the few popular aspirations with which we have any acquaintance. They are vague in the extreme, and perhaps are only the expression of the discontent of some intriguing or oppressed clique. They may also possess the highest importance, and if the power of the Lamas for good or evil be as great as is asserted by some, then these murmurs, taken in conjunction with the known restless feeling among the Chinese themselves, finding expression at the present moment in the demand for a change in the dynastic style, may yet bear fruit in practical results. The traditions of the country, and the practical experience of its educated classes alike teach that the part Tibet has to play in political matters is confined to the northern side of the Himalaya, yet the religion of the people attracts them in as great a degree to the southern. The importance of this fact in the present case is, that there is a common desire both in India and Tibet to gravitate towards each other. The religion of the Lamas impels them to regard the sacred cities of Bengal as the most venerable spots on earth, and thrice happy is that one who, having overcome the obstacles imposed by the loftiest mountain-chain in the world, and the dangers of the pestiferous jungle that there succeeds, has bathed in the sacred waters of the



Ganges. Few, indeed, have been the pilgrims who in our time have come from the Holy Land of Buddhism, yet there have been some, and these in their own country are regarded with particular respect. The travels of Gosain Pranporee were on a still more extended scale. He had visited far distant Moscow, and barely escaped slavery at the hands of the Turcomans. He made a complete circuit of the more interesting portion of Asia. From India he had penetrated to Persia, thence north to Russia, and by Siberia and Urga had entered the Chinese Empire, whence he returned to Lhasa by the Sining route. Captain Turner has given a very interesting description of this distinguished character, who was, very naturally, quite a celebrity among his countrymen. The natural inclination of the people of Tibet to visit India exists, and should be encouraged by every means in our power.

It is by this time well-known that Warren Hastings was the first to direct the attention of his countrymen to the regions beyond the Himalaya, and that he aspired to open up, in these little known States, a fresh field for that energy and activity of which he himself possessed such a superabundance. It is not so well understood that his first and more important embassy to Tibet was in reality a return mission, dictated as much by the rules of good breeding as by any more ambitious sentiment; nor is it perhaps more fully realised that the mission of George Bogle was, strictly speaking, a success, and that it was only when it attempted to extend its functions, that it met with a check that has made the whole affair appear as an unqualified failure. The Cis-Himalayan State of Bhutan is inhabited by a tribe of some of the fiercest and most warlike of the clans of India, and even now, after the punishment inflicted on it by three English expeditions on a large scale, their good conduct is always a matter of doubt. In 1772 their depredations in Cooch Behar necessitated the despatch of a small force against them, and, remembering the difficulties of warfare in such a country as Bhutan, the success obtained on this occasion was exceptionally great. In one brief campaign they received a severe defeat in the field, and their chief town Tassisudon was placed in jeopardy, when instructions arrived from Calcutta to grant a truce to the disheartened mountaineers. The Deb Rajah, or ruler of Bhutan, finding himself unable to stem the tide of British invasion, sued the Teshu Lama of Tibet to come to his aid. In answer to that application this priest-ruler sent a letter and a small embassy to Calcutta, and Warren Hastings, occupied in far more important affairs in Central India, was not loth to call away the troops he needed so much elsewhere, from barren achievements in the



mountains of the north. Yet, with the promptitude that characterised all his movements, he seized the opportunity thus afforded him of learning something of Tibet and its people, and in accordance with instructions, of the kind that, we are led to believe, Prince Bismarck dictates for the guidance of his representations in foreign capitals, Mr. George Bogle set out on that journey which was intended to place the secrets of Lhasa at the disposal of our Governor-General. The Teshu Lama of Tibet, although nominally on an equality with the Dalai Lama, is in fact a kind of Viceroy in the southern division of the country, and exercises, as it would appear, little or no influence upon the foreign policy of Tibet. This is the more to be remarked, as the Teshu of Bogle's time was a man of exceptional ability and piety. His opinion ought to have carried great weight; and that his fame was widespread, is proved by the fact that the Emperor of China, the mighty Keen Lung, sent for him to come and see him at Peking before he died. It would be instructive to know what these two men conversed upon, what topics were of mutual interest to the man who had gained everything by war, and to the man whose reputation was founded on peace and good will to all. The lesson to be learnt from this is that Lhasa is supreme, and that the Teshu Lama is for us not the potentate to whom we should address ourselves when we effect an entrance into his country. Matters may also have changed since the days of Bogle, and the present Dalai Lama, no longer a child, although it is now rumoured that he is one and the puppet of a scheme, such as Gesub Rirmboché was, may combine the power of supreme ruler with the peculiar personal claims to consideration that attached to the Teshu who was Bogle's consistent friend. In the reception of our envoy so much depends on the inclinations of the Dalai, that it is doubly to be regretted that we know nothing whatever of the present holder of the title. The point in Bogle's mission which is lost sight of is, that it was ostensibly sent to the Teshu in response to that which had come from him, and that the reception it received at Teshu Lumbo was cordial in the extreme. It would almost appear that Warren Hastings had forgotten the dual form of Government in Tibet, and that he conceived he was dealing, in the Teshu, with the recognised sovereign of the country. If so, his representative was quickly undeceived, for all his efforts to obtain permission to go on to Lhasa were in vain. Bogle's mission to the Teshu was an unqualified success, but when he sought to extend it into an official visit to the Dalai, he was unable to accomplish his object. The Teshu Lama asked a favour of the Governor-General, who granted it. The Teshu extended his hospitality to the messenger



of the ruler of India, and moreover contracted a personal friendship with him which was unimpaired long years afterwards. With all of this the Dalai had no concern. It is probable that nothing was known of these negotiations at Lhasa until Mr. Bogle's request came, to be allowed to visit it. The nett result of this mission was that the introduction of the book of Tibetan history was temptingly exposed, and then that it was closed, to all seeming, more firmly than before. On one occasion afterwards Mr. Bogle made a fresh effort to accomplish that wherein he had previously failed, and he was again assisted by the influence of the Teshu. Whether the opposition came from the Chinese governors, or from the palace of the Dalai, he was once more compelled to forego any hopes he may have indulged in of visiting Lhasa. Yet neither Warren Hastings nor Mr. Bogle was daunted by adverse fortune, and at one moment it seemed as if their resolution was to be rewarded. When the Teshu, in 1779, set out for Peking, he in the kindest manner possible, wrote to Mr. Bogle asking him to go round to Canton, where he would use all his influence with the Emperor to obtain his permission for the English representative to proceed to Peking. He could then return with the Teshu to Tibet, and thus visit the abode of the Dalai Lama. The Teshu did approach the Emperor on the subject, and paid a high tribute to the moderation of the English in their dealings with Bhutan. But in the midst of these negotiations the Teshu died suddenly, of small-pox, it was said at Peking, and Mr. Bogle himself did not long survive his friend. With their death the most favourable opportunity of exploring Tibet passed away, and the motive power supplied by the Teshu's friendship for Bogle, and the latter's sympathy with the Lama being removed, it required a greater effort on the part of Warren Hastings to keep the question before the eyes of his countrymen. Yet this extraordinary man in no way relaxed in his determination to solve the trans-Himalayan question, and was not long in search of a pretext for a renewal of those overtures to Tibet which, he was convinced, must in the end be crowned with success.

Although terms had been granted to the Deb Rajah of Bhutan, negotiations were still pending between him and the Government of India. Several districts, originally forming part of this State, were still held by British troops, and an English official was in treaty with the native court at Tassisudon. The intercourse with Bhutan necessitated some communication between Tibet and our representatives, and at last in 1782, the news reached Calcutta that the person into whom the never-dying spirit of the Teshu had passed had been found. This time the potentate with whom we had to deal was no experienced man of the world, but an innocent



child, in whose predilections no faith could be placed, and who was incapable of affecting the question of Anglo-Tibetan intercourse in one way or the other. Warren Hastings at once recognised the necessity of seizing the chance that was again offered him, and, as the road to Tibet was still open through Bhutan, he permitted no delay to retard its execution. In January 1783, accordingly, Captain Samuel Turner, a connexion of the Governor-General, left India for Bhutan with a message of congratulation to the new Teshu. After a delay of some months in Bhutan he, by the same route as that followed by Bogle, entered Tibet, and proceeded to Teshu Lumbo. It was not till the month of September of the same year that Turner entered Tibet, and, when he reached his destination, he found that the new Teshu was residing some distance from the town. He was, however, received cordially by the Regent, who remembered Mr. Bogle, and one thing is clear from his narrative, and, that is, that the English were in good repute with the Tibetans. The Teshu, beloved by his people, had impressed upon all his followers his admiration for the English, and the Regent had been one of his most trusted counsellors. Captain Turner was therefore well received, and although there was some reluctance manifested to grant him an audience with the Teshu, he was permitted on his departure to make a detour to the monastery of Tarpaling where the Lama resided. While he was staying at Shigatze, a grand ceremony took place, but, although Captain Turner suggested his desire in the most courteous terms to participate in it, the Regent felt compelled to refuse his permission on account of the "jealousy of the Chinese." Purungir Gosain, the intelligent companion of Bogle and Turner, and the friend of the Teshu, was present at this great fête, which was to celebrate the removal of the Teshu from his natal place to the monastery of Tarpaling, which had been specially prepared for his reception. Captain Turner transcribed the Gosain's description, and it will be found in his account of his embassy to the Teshu Lama. Captain Turner spent four days at Tarpaling in December on his way back to India, and he was very cordially welcomed by the parents of the Teshu. If possible, he found a stronger sympathy for his countrymen in the monastery than he had in the city; and the Teshu's father, in particular, manifested extreme good will towards the English. This dignitary, a connexion of the Dalai Lama, had felt "the stings of outraged fortune," and at one time had even thought of taking refuge from his foes in our dominions. The Teshu himself, a child not more than 18 months old, produced a most favourable impression on our ambassador, by both his dignified behaviour, and his fascinating appearance. Although speech was denied as yet to the Teshu, it



was impressed upon Captain Turner that he understood all that was said to him. He was told that already had the youthful Teshu attempted to pronounce the word "English" and that "Hastings" should be the next word that he should be taught. Without producing any permanent result, Warren Hastings' second mission served to preserve the remembrance of the first, and might undoubtedly have been most beneficial, had the succeeding Governor-Generals perceived the importance of the question in the same degree that Warren Hastings had. Even with the return of Captain Turner all official intercourse between the courts did not cease, for Purungir Gosain was appointed a sort of diplomatic agent in Tibet for the British Government. In other ways, too, Warren Hastings strove to perpetuate the question of our relations with Tibet, and noteworthy among them may be mentioned the institution of the great fair at Rangpur, which contributed in a great degree to the increase that then occurred in our trade by land with China and Tibet. But very shortly after the return of Captain Turner, Warren Hastings left India, and with his departure a complete revulsion took place in the policy of the Indian Government with regard to this question. Not only was trade with Tibet nipped in the bud by the abolition of the Rangpur fair, and trans-Himalayan affairs tabooed in the council-chamber, but more serious and irreparable mischief was done by the "drifting" policy which then came into vogue.

During the Nepaulese invasion of Tibet we did nothing, although the Teshu Lama sent to inform us of the inroad, and to request our assistance to repel it. The hostility of the Ghoorkas to us was at that time scarcely concealed, and, twenty years later on, we had to undertake their castigation ourselves; yet we refused to restrain the aggressive proclivities of the ruler of Khatmandoo. The task that should have been performed by us, we permitted a Chinese army to accomplish, and we thus not only damaged our reputation in the eyes of the Tibetans, but also permitted Chinese power to be made evident within our own natural borders. Our subsequent intervention did undoubtedly save Nepal from destruction, but not until it was too late to prevent the imposition of a Chinese tribute, which is still maintained. To that cause may be attributed, more than to anything else, the isolation the Nepaulese Government has since been so consistent in maintaining, while it undoubtedly alienated the sympathies of the Tibetans themselves. Most important of all, perhaps, it gave the Chinese Government the excuse it had been for some time seeking, for increasing the strength of its garrison in Tibet, and the forts at the northern entrances of the principal passes were accordingly occupied and re-fortified. From the



intelligent policy of Hastings there was, therefore, a complete revulsion, and no succeeding Governor-General had either the inclination or the power to renew the attempts he had made. The Tibetan problem was shelved, and its solution has now to be commenced almost *ab initio*. It was while this revulsion in the sentiments of the Indian Government was at its height that the third attempt was made by an English subject to reach Lhasa. Thomas Manning, the friend and correspondent of Charles Lamb, had from his youth been fired with a desire to visit and explore China. Whether his attention had been drawn to this subject by the writings of the Jesuit fathers, or by some 'tale from over sea,' we are not informed; but he went to China with the firm resolve to penetrate into the country. At that time Canton was the only port to which Europeans were permitted entrance, and thither went Thomas Manning, full of his one grand idea, in the earlier years of the present century. During a residence of several years' duration he acquired a complete colloquial acquaintance with the language, which he had previously studied both in France and England, and devoted his attention to the customs and prejudices of the people. Gifted with a rare tact and singular powers of observation, Manning ingratiated himself with the mandarins. If any one could have overcome the objections raised to the prosecution of his further travels, one would have supposed it would have been the man who had paved the way to deserved success by such energy and forethought. It was not to be, however; and, although the local authorities were friendly, their veto to his request for liberty to proceed into the interior was not to be overcome. Thwarted at Canton, Manning turned his steps in another direction. He had probably been told that the Chinese Empire extended to the Himalayas, or he may have remembered Lord Cornwallis' intervention on the occasion of the Chinese invasion of Nepal already referred to. To Calcutta, therefore, he came early in the year 1810, when Lord Minto was Governor-General, and made overtures to the Government for an appointment in some official capacity during his intended journey to Tibet. His offer was met with a decided refusal, and it was in a private capacity, relying solely on his own qualifications and resources, that he set out on his arduous and well-nigh hopeless undertaking. In the fragments of his diary, which Mr. Clements Markham has preserved for us, he comments on what he not inaccurately terms the short-sightedness of the Government in the following sentence:—"I cannot help exclaiming in my mind (as I often do) what fools the Company are to give me no commission, no authority, no instructions. What use are their embassies when their ambassador



cannot speak to a soul, and can only make ordinary phrases pass through a stupid interpreter? No *finesse*, no *tournure*, no compliments. Fools, fools, fools, to neglect an opportunity they may never have again!" This bitter expression of disappointment is accentuated by Manning's ultimate success, and we may say here that there is much practical advice suggested in these few lines of his. Our ambassador, whoever may be selected, must, above all things, know the Chinese language, and be skilled in the etiquette of the court. To sum up briefly upon the result of Manning's journey, it is sufficient here to say, that he resided in Lhasa for nearly 12 months, that he saw the Dalai Lama, that he won over the reserve of the people by his kindness and wonderful skill in propitiating their feelings, and that he has left us the only personal record in English we possess of the most interesting portion of the country. But, so far as his desire to break through the close ring maintained by Chinese reserve was concerned, he was again doomed to disappointment. With inferior means at his disposal, and with greater obstacles in his path, Manning had, however, accomplished more than the ambassador of Warren Hastings. With the return of Manning to India a long period of inaction in Himalayan exploration ensued, which has, during the last forty years, been slowly overcome by the devotion of a small band of enthusiasts. So long as there remained a fringe of independent territory between our frontier and that of Tibet, an excuse for continued apathy was easily obtainable, but with our gradual approach to the southern entrances of the Himalayan passes, this was removed. In the time both of Bogle and Manning, the Deb Rajah had to be propitiated, as well as the Tibetans, for, through his dominions lay the only known route to Lhasa. The Nepaulese were far too hostile at that time, and Sikhim was too little explored to admit of any alternative route being essayed. Shortly after the return of Manning our interest in Sikhim became greater, for our decided interference alone saved it from falling into the possession of the irrepressible Ghoorkas. This further increased in 1836, when the southern portion of the little territory was ceded to this country. It was after this year that the extraordinary revival of interest in the relations of these States to India took place, and that many devoted their attention to a question that had been conceived by the brilliant intellect of Hastings, and which the dogged resolution of Manning had striven to bring to a satisfactory termination.

Mr. Brian Hodgson, during his long residence at the court of Nepaul, not content with studying the history of the Ghoorkas and the Newar kings, lost no opportunity of enquiring into the



affairs transpiring beyond the Himalayas; and his reputation, which became great in these regions, penetrated even to the Dalai Lama at Lhasa. A correspondence ensued, and the Dalai sent the minister, as a token of his friendship, the manuscript records of the Capuchin fathers who at one time had been established at Lhasa. These Mr. Hodgson presented to the Pope, and they are now deposited in the Vatican. Mr. Hodgson's investigations in Nepaul, which have been lost sight of chiefly through the exclusive policy adopted by the late Sir Jung Bahadur, and Dr. Campbell's in Sikhim, were most instrumental in putting fresh life into the topic. Slowly, but surely, the work henceforth proceeded, and no want of encouragement was able to damp the ardour of those who devoted themselves to the cause they held so dear. In the meanwhile the French priests, Huc and Gabet, had visited Tibet, but their residence in Lhasa was brief. They came from the north of China, and returned in a due easterly direction to Canton; and M. Huc has left us a most interesting description of his own impressions of what he saw. His travels in Tartary and Tibet still form delightful reading, and the activity of the French in this quarter, beyond doubt, gave an impetus to our own movements. It is *à propos* here to mention that Mr. Ney Elias considers the best route to Tibet to be that followed by Huc. That is to say, we must, according to him, abandon all intention of visiting Tibet as a neighbouring State, by going a roundabout journey to enter it as some strange and far distant country. All the arguments in favour of commencing political relations with Tibet fall to the ground, if we are constrained to admit, as Mr. Elias does, that the best road thither is from the Chinese sea. The trigonometrical and topographical surveys of India brought all the influence of science to bear on the question of how far the Himalayan passes were practicable, and the despatch of Indian Pundits to explore, where Englishmen were unable to penetrate, was another step in the right direction. The result of their journeys is still but imperfectly realised, and, indeed, the more important of their reports are still India Foreign Office secrets. Pundit No. 9, Nain Sing, in his numerous visits to Tibetan territory, learnt much of the state of affairs in the country; but of these the details have not been made known. In 1872, however, while at Shigatze, he heard of disturbances having broken out at Lhasa, but the cause of these he was not able to ascertain, nor has it since been made known. The rumour appears to have more foundation which asserts that the Chinese during the past generation have been endeavouring to monopolise all the civil functions in the State, but of the result of this we are also totally uninformed. There is some ground



for rather believing that the Chinese have passed more under the influence of the Lamas, than that the latter have sunk into the tools of the former, and a recent Imperial Edict from Peking with reference to Tibet strengthens this supposition. We are, therefore, in total ignorance of the exact state of affairs in Tibet. We know neither the strength of the Chinese there, nor the extent of the authority exercised by the native rulers. All this has to be ascertained before it will be possible to estimate the future before us with regard to Tibet. We may find that the Chinese are supreme, and that the great Lamas are now but the shadow of a name, and that in consequence of the hostility of the official classes we must once more abandon our design. This is looking at the dark side of things: the 'way how not to do it'; and it is impossible to admit the existence of such obstacles until they have been encountered and proved insuperable. But in this case the far more probable side is of a brighter hue. The Chinese officials would not dare to oppose our entry into Tibet if their Government consented to it; and, once there, it would be our own fault if we could not secure the permanent opening of the passes through Sikhim and Bhutan. The Lamas, whose sentiment is dubious, may without great difficulty be propitiated, as they have been before, and the people who have more to gain by trade than we have, be it remembered, will be only too eager to welcome the return of those days of prosperity which passed away with the Rangpur fair. Let it be known that it is the intention of the Indian Government to revive that annual celebration, and that the roads and bridges shall be maintained in perfect order, a task that will in the first years be expensive, as they have fallen into a state of disrepair through neglect, but which a small toll will afterwards be sufficient to maintain, and there is every reason to believe that commerce will find the outlet it has been so long seeking in this direction, and that a new field for enterprise and international utility, will be opened up to us. In two articles alone intercourse with Tibet might completely revolutionise the trade of India. The wool of Tibet, the finest in the world, and almost inexhaustible in quantity, would create a new industry in Bengal, which would rival that carried on in Cashmere during its most prosperous years; and the tea of Darjeeling and Assam should alone supply the 6,000,000 of tea-drinking people who inhabit Tibet. Indian finance is in no flourishing state, and chances such as these, of adding to the wealth of the people, it is sheer folly to disregard. We must decline, however, to discuss the mineral wealth of a country which geologists tell us is of the most boundless promise. Gold is known, however, to be in common use among the poorest of the



villagers. It was at a moment when so many circumstances combined to attract our attention to the land of the Lamas that we received tidings of the departure of a Russian officer to explore a country which is almost a sealed book to ourselves. The possibility of being forestalled by the representative of another power, which, in Tibet, must be considered as an interloper, was not flattering to our self-love. If Colonel Prjevalsky had succeeded, he would, to say the least, have overcome obstacles and difficulties of a far more formidable character than any that would beset a traveller proceeding from India. The credit of an English explorer could not equal that which the Russian would have deserved if he had been successful. That danger is happily averted, but none the less would it appear that our attitude in the matter should no longer be one of apathy. We should have bestowed our plaudits on the successful one, though he might have been a Russian; but now we should take steps that something of the glory may be earned by our own countrymen. Russia's personal concern in Tibet can, under no conceivable circumstances, ever equal our own. If we permit its trade to pass into the hands of the merchants of Urga and Ili, and thus defraud our own subjects of their legitimate rights, we deserve the worst that can be said of us. It is more reasonable to suppose, that, if the Russian Government has any more definite object than the vague desire to increase the trade of its country, it was a wish to strengthen its hands in its relations with China that impelled it to sanction Colonel Prjevalsky's explorations of Tibet and southern China. The intrigues that are said to have been carried on ever since the year 1800 at Urga with the Taranath Lama and the Khalka princes, may yet very possibly bear fruit during any Russian complications that may arise with China; an acquaintance, therefore, with the aspirations of the Tibetan Lama, who claims and exercises a certain supremacy over the Mongolians, is very necessary, and, although no disaffection may exist in Lhasa against the Chinese rule, the Russians are far too prudent to suppose the "dark side of things exists" until it has been proved by ocular demonstration.

In Asia, during the present century, we have publicly proclaimed our desire to confine our attention to strictly Indian affairs, and we have been often compelled to belie our most earnest protestations. Beyond our natural frontiers, the Indus and the Himalaya, we have, it may plausibly be said, never done anything, except through apprehension of Russia's designs. Once more the truth of that assertion is being brought home to us. If we had convinced ourselves that there was any one State in Asia destined to be free from the intrusion of the Muscovite, we should all have agreed in saying that it was Tibet. Instead of seizing the

favourable opportunity to establish relations with Tibet that was thus afforded us, we persistently neglected it. That belief has now been shown to be a fallacy, and the delusion is more or less dispelled. The incentive present in every other Asiatic question for us to put forth our best endeavours, has arisen also in the case of Tibet, and now that we are compelled to recognise this fact, there should be no sluggishness shown in obtaining the reinforcement of the Tibet clause in the treaty of Chefoo. Colonel Prjevalsky has failed, indeed, to accomplish his object, and years may elapse before he has a successor. But that is not our standpoint. Our interest in Tibet is of a varied character. It is based on historical, geographical, and commercial considerations, as well as political. With China itself the same influences hold good, only with double force. Through Tibet we may reasonably hope to dispose the Chinese to adopt a more friendly policy towards us along the whole of our land frontier. Without accepting any risk, for that will have been obviated by the first expression of approval on the part of the Chinese Government, we shall have done more to promote the mutual sympathy of the Governments of England and China than by any other act that can be called to mind. Colonel Prjevalsky may claim admiration at our hands for his intrepidity, and from geographical students a high meed of praise; but if he has inspired our rulers with a spirit of emulation which shall lead them to apply to Peking for the authority necessary to despatch an envoy to Lhasa, he will deserve still more our gratitude and thanks. The present moment for renewing our old negotiations with Tibet is in many ways peculiarly auspicious, but if permitted to pass by unused, it is doubtful whether in our time it can come again.

D. BOULGER.

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## ART II.—THE LANGUAGES OF AFRICA.

LIGHT has shone in on every side of the Dark Continent, and it is possible in 1881 to give a sketch of the languages spoken by the unknown millions who inhabit it which would have been entirely out of the power of the most learned of the last generation. It is possible that what is written now will be deemed incorrect or insufficient by the men of the next generation, who will stand upon our shoulders, making use, without acknowledgment, of the results of our labours, and laughing without pity at our mistakes. Be it so. It may help those scholars and critics who are still in their cradles or their boarding schools, if we throw a linguistic net over this vast Continent, and place on record what is known as to the varieties of living speech now spoken by the black, yellow, and brown children of the soil.

Old Homer tells us that the generations of men are like the leaves of the forest. The similitude applies still more to the languages of men. In one sense nothing is so transitory as the life of a language; from another point of view nothing is so enduring, so imperishable as the words of a language. Languages have come into existence, and have melted away like drifting snow: in Asia and in Egypt, thanks to the art of the scribe, some *debris* of these extinct languages have come down to us on the painted or engraved clay and stone, or the papyrus: the pronunciation, and possibly, the ordinary phraseology of the people have passed away for ever: on the other hand, the three consonants, K, T and B conveyed to Moses and his hearers, the idea of "writing" and a "book," and they convey that idea to millions of Arabs, Turks, Persians, Hindus and Malays still. Of what was spoken by men during the six centuries preceding the Christian era, and subsequently, in Asia, Europe and Egypt, we are informed, and we thence know what manner of men they were, but of the language of the people of Africa during these long silent centuries we know nothing more than we do of the humming of their insects, and the howling of their wild beasts. This is a solemn thought: generations of men have lived in vain, if life is measured by the invention of an art, or the propagation of an idea. In imagination we can depicture them migrating through their grand forests, huddled together in their straw huts, fighting their cruel fights, dancing their wild dances, and giving way to their cruel customs of cannibalism,



human sacrifices, and bloody ordeals, but of the form of words which they uttered, the phraseology in which they addressed their divinities, their fellow men, or their families, we know nothing.

The languages which Herodotus heard spoken in Egypt, died away before the Christian era; and with the death of the Coptic, a few centuries back, perished the last echo of the vehicle of ideas of that nation, which was the earliest carver of ideographs on rocks, and the inventor of alphabetic symbols. The Mahomedan invasion of North Africa swept away all traces of the languages and civilization of the great Phœnician colony, and drove into the background the language of the Numidians and Mauretanians. These nations submitted to Rome and Carthage, but at least the remnants of their Hamitic languages have outlived the proud languages of their conquerors, for no remnant of Latin, or of Phœnician, has survived in Africa, except in the shape of inscriptions, or chance words. No neo-Latin, or neo-Phœnician language has come into existence to perpetuate the memory of the foreign conqueror or colony. To the Semitic immigration from Arabia across the Red Sea a longer existence has been given, and the languages of Abyssinia still represent a certain amount of culture. But beyond, over all the rest of the Continent, there is not a vestige of antiquity, not a monument, not an inscription, not a manuscript, not a record of the past, except the oral legends of the tribes and their customs: not a specimen of art, except the cave-paintings of the bushmen: not an evidence of religion, except the weird and reflected light of the Mahomedan invaders across the Sahara, or the crosses, bells and church ornaments left by the Roman Catholic missionaries in the time of the Portuguese supremacy in Kongo and Mozambique, and now used as fetishes by a people who have relapsed into heathendom and barbarism.

In enumerating the languages of Africa we have thus to deal with the present, and the present alone; how the four great families south of the Sahára got into their present position, we cannot say: we can only deal with them as they are, mark the unmistakeable phenomena which are discovered, and by the process of cautious and warrantable induction, pierce back to a certain extent into an unknown, or dimly discernible past. In prefaces to grammars, written by unpractised hands, or notices about languages in works of travel, astonishment is expressed, and the difficulty of their task is magnified, because the language is an unwritten one, and because it has not been subjected to rules of grammarians. Now the fact is, that the great majority of languages are unwritten, and that the difficulty is felt only in starting and soon got over, and writers on the subject of languages which are written in characters peculiar to themselves,



unreasonably enlarge upon the difficulty of mastering the character, which in fact is only felt for a few months. In most countries the ordinary speech of the people is unwritten, and all correspondence and literature are in a separate literary language, such as Persian was once in India, or in a special literary dialect, such as to this day is used is Bangál.

As to the assertion that grammarians formed a language, it is sheer nonsense. Did grammarians, or the early Hellenic poets, form Greek? The grammatical features of a language develop themselves according to the genius of the people, and it is impossible to say why or how this took place. No rules of grammarians could stop the process or accelerate it: it is a great wonder, but such it is. A distinguished authority has written that, after ten years more of study, he adheres to his original opinion, that the language of a tribe comes into existence, *as the result of a single blow of the enchanter's wand*, and springs instantaneously from the genius of each race. The invention of language is not the result of a long and patient series of experiments, but of a primitive intuition, which reveals to each race the general outline of the form of the vehicle of speech which suits them, and the great intellectual compromise which they must take, once and *once for all*, as the means of conveying their thoughts to others.

We may also remove from consideration the theory, that nations pass through a kind of progression in the organic development of their language. The Chinese never had a grammar, and has none still. The Semitic languages had an imperfect organism from the beginning, and have it still. Language springs completely armed from the human intellect. History does not present a single instance of a nation finding a defect in its language, and taking a new one deliberately: it is true that, as time goes on, under the influence of civilization and contact with other nations, a language acquires more grace and sweetness and is developed more upon its original lines, but its vital principle, or its soul, is fixed for ever. If this be admitted we must accept another fact, that far from modern languages being the development of a more simple original, the contrary is the case, and all are agreed, that in the earliest period of the history of a tribe, they use a language which is synthetic, obscure, and so complicated, that it is the object and effort of succeeding generations to free themselves from it, and adopt a vulgar tongue which is, indeed, not a new idiom, but a transformation of the old one. The remark is made by many that, because the Zulu language is highly developed, accurate, and full, and the people who use it are savages, therefore the race must have once possessed a higher civilisation, which is now lost, and that the



perfection of the language can be in no other way explained. It would be a great and mischievous error to accept such a conclusion. The Zulu race have still their national life to live, and they are not the survivals of an extinct civilisation. Far from being surprised at the wonderful native luxuriance, as of wild flowers, of uncultivated languages spoken by a savage people, we must accept it as a well recognised phenomenon. The further we trace back language, with some few exceptions, the greater the wealth we find in its forms: as it grows older, it throws them off. Business, and the necessity of economy of time, compel the speakers to do so; if it dies away from the life of men, like the Sanskrit and Latin, the new languages, which spring like a Phoenix from its ashes, do without the synthetic forms, and use substitutes. Doubt as we may, and argue as we like, there must be a vitality in the intellect of a race, endowed with a power of clothing ideas in word-forms, and a logical completeness of thought, acting unconsciously and working through the whole diapason of sound and orbit of reason, and all without any self-consciousness, and without the operators being aware of of the work which they are guided by reason to do. Thus it has come to pass that nations, hopelessly separated by centuries of years and thousands of miles, unconsciously arrive at the use of the same forms. At the first glance the first man who takes notes of the vocables which are used by those around him in Central Africa, records with surprise, that the savages have a grammar to their language: as grammar is but the marshalling of words, which are but the representatives of ideas, it is no more wonderful that he has a grammar, than that he has gymnastics, which are but the marshalling of the limbs, which are a distinct representation of ideas. And if the idea is thoroughly grasped, of certain natural processes of clothing ideas in words and sentences being inherent in the unassisted human intellect, all vain attempts at finding affinities betwixt races which never have possibly come into contact, may be lightly brushed aside for the simple reason, that the creative genius of each tribe drew upon the intellectual materials which were the common property of the human race.

Let it not be supposed that the study of languages of savage races, while still as it were in solution, and unfettered by the bondage of contemporary literature, or the recorded testimony of monumental inscriptions and papyri, is useless and leads to no further knowledge of the history of the human race, which is after all the end and object of all science. On the contrary, it is priceless. It is the voice crying from the wilderness:—"We are men, the same in weaknesses, strength and passions as you are; we are men, such as your ancestors



"were before the dawn of your civilization; we are men, who may become such as you are, if we have but the chance given to us; we have held our own against the beasts of the forest and the river; we have founded communities, established customs with the force of law: we have unconsciously developed languages and dialects, differentiated, by delicate tests, some of them, like the Bantu, controlled by euphonic laws, rivalling those of the great Aryan race, some of them, like the language of Hottentot and Bushmen, disgraced by clicks, which are alien from human speech, and belong to the brute rather than to the man." Such considerations rouse the deepest sympathy in the heart of the philanthropist and the philosopher: in tapping these sealed fountains, he approaches nearer to the sources of the human intellect; he catches, as it were, Nature alive, and drops a lead into deep waters where there is still no bottom.

The mere perusal of the names of the languages known, partially known, or totally unknown, while there exists a certainty of there being scores of languages of which the names even are unknown, ought to deter speculators from lightly discussing the problem of the origin of language, and induce them to remit that momentous question to the next generation which, at least, will have more abundant materials upon which a judgment may be formed. We can but argue from the known to the unknown, and the past can only be deciphered by a careful examination of existing phenomena. How can we presume to speculate upon the laws which regulated the growth and decay of languages two thousand years ago in the dim twilight of history, if we neglect the study of what is happening under our eyes, if we open them? How profound is the lesson that may be learnt from the examination of the reasons why and how a certain portion only, and that portion the strongest and most independent, of the great Bantu family, adopted the clicks of the debased Bushman? How came it about, that members of tribes so closely allied as the Zulu and Basuto are, by the action of euphonic law, mutually unintelligible, while travellers from one sea to the other across regions never before traversed, from Zanzibar to Kongo, were mutually intelligible? Questions of the most interesting character offer themselves at every corner of the subject: men of this generation can only look over the precipice, or across the yawning gulf, and wonder how it came about.

Fifty years ago all the information which we possessed, of the languages spoken in Africa at any time since the Creation might conveniently have been tied up in a small bundle. The old Egyptian had not been deciphered: the Punic and Tawarik



inscriptions had not been discovered. Arabic was generally known as the language of North Africa, but before the conquest of Algeria by the French nothing was known of the indigenous tribes of North Africa. Of the long stretch of coast from the Red Sea to the Cape of Good Hope, absolutely nothing was known; from Cape Verd to the Cape of Good Hope on the west side, little was known of a practical character south of the Equator, but the existence of grammars and dictionaries of the languages of Angola and the Kongo, prepared two centuries previously by the Portuguese missionaries, was a recognised bibliographical fact and a curious sight in large libraries by the side of a few Ethiopian books of the same date and stamp. As to the languages of the negro race north of the equator, absolutely nothing was known. So much for the past.

Extensive as have been of late geographical discoveries (and the geologist, botanist, ethnologist and linguist follow the great explorer, picking up the crumbs), still we cannot say that we either possess a grasp on the whole linguistic area, or have got possession of the details. The languages of Africa have not yet found their proper place among the languages of the world. No satisfactory description and classification, based upon scientific grounds, has yet been given to the public, though there are some scientific studies on certain portions of the field. The people of Africa belong to a great many totally different races: no wonder that the distinctness of the difference of their languages from each other is more marked than meets us elsewhere. The confusion of so many, and such distinct, languages in the northern half of the Continent is so great, that it seems hopeless to let light into the chaos and to classify the separate languages. In Asia and Europe we have the language-traditions of many centuries and an unbroken supply of monumental or literary evidence: in Africa there is nothing. Such is the recorded opinion of one of the greatest scholars of comparative philology.

It is self-evident that Africa must have been colonized from North to South: tribes were pushed forward into the interior, and their forms of speech became modified. The procession must have been in a long course of centuries from the North, and the oldest races were pushed to the extreme South, broken up into fragments, which survive in the lowest possible form of human existence, or were totally extinguished. While, on the one hand, the Egyptians occupy the first rank as the very oldest of nations which history has preserved to us, on the other hand, neither on the East Coast nor the West, even up to the time of Ptolemy the geographer, did the knowledge of the antients,



extend very far. Old Homer had grasped one fact, that there were Ethiopians on both sides of the Continent towards the rising and the setting sun. The existence of negroes is placed beyond doubt by the monuments in Egypt, and it is in Africa alone that the negro is found.

But it would be an error to suppose that the typical negro represented the whole population of Africa, or occupied the largest portion of that Continent. The ethnologist who examines the physical features of the races, informs us that in Africa there are two varieties of woolly-haired races, the fleecy-haired, and the tufted, and that there exist also lank curly-haired races. The linguistic division is six-fold, and, applying it to the ethnological characteristics above described, we find the following division of the population of Africa:—

- |    |                             |       |                                       |                                |
|----|-----------------------------|-------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. | Lank curly-haired races     | ...   | Semitic family of languages.          |                                |
| 2. | Ditto                       | Ditto | ...                                   | Hamitic group of languages.    |
| 3. | Ditto                       | Ditto | ...                                   | Nuba-Fulah group of languages. |
| 4. | Woolly, fleecy-haired races | ...   | Negro group of languages.             |                                |
| 5. | Ditto                       | Ditto | ...                                   | Bantu family of languages.     |
| 6. | Woolly, tuft-haired races   | ...   | Hottentot Bushman group of languages. |                                |

The use of the words Family and Group is made advisedly with reference to the existence, or non-existence, of proved affinity of the languages of each category to the other, and a presumed descent from a common stock, which can only be predicated of the Semitic and Bantu. A group is formed of elements not necessarily homogeneous, but it is the only method of discussing a subject of such gigantic proportions as the present.

From the contemporaneous operation of several great causes, the isolation in which Africa had remained for so many centuries, began half a century ago to be removed. The opening of the Overland Route to India opened out the coast of the Red Sea and Egypt generally, and the fashion began to spread, of making excursions up the Nile. France fixed permanent hold upon Algeria. The resolute, fruitless, but at last triumphant determination of England to put down the slave-trade, drew attention to the West Coast from the River Senegal to the River Cunéne, which had been the great nurseries of the traffic. The occupation of the Dutch settlement of the Cape of Good Hope as an English colony, engaged in constant warfare, but always increasing its territory, discovered to the astonished world the existence of the noble savage, called by the generic name of Kafir. The Portuguese colonies of Angola on the West, and Mozambique on the



East, remained sunk in hopeless decay, but on the East Coast, North of Cape Delgado, the Government of British India, by force of circumstances, and its supremacy in the Persian Gulf, came into contact with the Mahometan Arab State of Zanzibar, ruled over by a younger and dependent branch of the Chief of Muscat. Gradually we became aware that the slave-trade was as rampant on the East Coast as on the West, very much owing to the industry and capital of Indian subjects of the Queen of England, which rendered our interference to stop such a scandal necessary. It will thus be perceived that a cord was tightening round the whole Continent. Scientific exploring of unknown regions, and the expansion of commerce, not always of a legitimate nature, were two of the great factors which set individuals in motion in the wake of the impetus given by the action of the English Government on the West, South, and North of the Continent.

But when peace was restored to Europe in 1815, and it was felt that the time had come to put a stop to the intolerable wrong of the slave-trade, the people of England, Germany, and some of the smaller Protestant States of Northern Europe felt that this was not enough to expiate and atone for the evil done to Africa by our ancestors; that it was a second and more invidious evil to pour in at every African port cargoes of rum and firearms; and the missionary spirit, which had been so long dormant in Christ's church, and had never existed at all in the English churches, burst out into a bright flame, and every denomination of Protestants sent out missions to Africa: the citizens of the United States of North America joined in this grand crusade. No leave of the Government to which the missionaries belonged was solicited, or was necessary: no license of Governors of colonies, or independent chieftains was waited for: The missionary, male and female, with appliances of education, industry, and civilization landed at every port, the estuary of every river, in places where the merchant had not yet sent his agents, among tribes sometimes so fierce, that it required all the meek firmness of Christian men to control their passions, and sometime so degraded, that nothing but Christian love would induce educated Europeans to associate with them. The history of missionary enterprise in Africa has still to be written: how many a gallant soldier of Christ lies in an unknown grave, the victim to his zeal and the climate. It is too long a story to dwell further on here. I should be glad on some future occasion to return to it, but to the quiet and holy labour of these good men we are indebted for our knowledge of the languages of Africa.

The map of Africa has become so familiar to me, and the history of the labours of the explorer and missionary



so present to my mind that, as these lines flow from my pen, the great drama of Africa, re-discovered and re-conquered, seems to rise as a vision before my eyes. I see the long procession of heroes of modern times, who were not unwilling to jeopardize their lives in the great cause—from the early pioneers, Bruce and Mungo Park, down to Livingstone and Stanley. Some have blamed Livingstone for leaving his narrow and useful missionary duties, his schools and chapels, his catechists and catechisms, and starting forward to the East and the West and to the North, to reveal the existence of new systems of lakes and rivers, and discover secrets that had been concealed since the commencement of history. He became the great pioneer and the parent of missionaries, which sprung up from the drops of sweat which fell from him in his laborious journeys. Some have blamed the great traveller Henry Stanley for meddling with missionary matters which did not fall within his knowledge, and yet the trumpet tones of his letters from the capital of King Mtesa woke up an echo in England, and these two great heroes, Livingstone and Stanley, have indirectly advanced our linguistic knowledge of Africa beyond any other living men. And one other trace of character unites them, the deep-rooted sympathy with the people which irradiates all the narratives of the great missionary, and many portions of the narrative of the great traveller.

For myself, I never see on the platform the great black beard of Horace Waller, the chronicler of Livingstone, and hear his eloquent voice, but the vision rises up before me of the great African plains, the vast rivers, the sad looking mountains, the villages composed of straw bee-hives, with the palm tree and the Baobab, the prickly pear and the Euphorbia, and the men and women clothed in their simple nakedness, with their fanciful hair costumes, their spears, and their bows. I see the long row of porters carrying burdens, and the European plodding afterwards, with his attendant carrying his rifle, on foot, or sometimes riding on the back of a man through the swamps, or carried in a rude litter. Sometimes I see in the jungle the long koffee of slaves being marched down to the coast, or the poor broken down slaves fastened together and left to die, or be eaten before death by wild beasts; and still, in spite of all this cruel oppression, though this unhappy country seems for centuries to have been forgotten by God as well as by man, nothing is more striking than the traces of goodness, light-heartedness and gentleness of character which seem to crop up on every page of every narrative, and, in spite of the very hopelessness of the case, hope for better things seems to remain. Something must be done to



create a sustained interest in Africa; each one of us must feel that we have a debt to pay back, and an interest to do something to advance our knowledge of this country.

Language has an intimate connexion with the advancement of arts, manufactures and commerce: the disclosures made in the course of the study of a language, throw a light upon the social and intellectual characteristics of the people who use it. The appearance of certain words, more or less transformed, in the mouths of a tribe suffered to be cut off from communication with the outer world, tell a tale of some intercourse which history has not recorded, and the presence and even absence of certain words, has an historical value. That the Mpongwe and Kongoese languages on the West Coast should have such affinities with the Swahéli on the East Coast, in spite of the pathless regions which lie between, and the total ignorance of the people of sea-faring, is an evidence of unity of origin which there is no getting over. After all, the commerce of thought is the greatest and oldest form of commerce that the world can have known, and no manufacture is older or more wide-spread, or more ingenious, or represents more clearly the line betwixt man and beast, than the manufacture of words, which has been going on without ceasing, ever since the world began.

I do not presume to claim a personal knowledge of any one of the several hundreds of the languages of Africa which pass under review, except Arabic, which is an imported alien. Perhaps it is as well. It is said of a librarian that, if he opens a single book, he is lost, for he is apt to waste upon the *unit* the sympathy and devotion which is required for *the whole*. I felt this when some years ago I studied the subject, and then wrote in this Review on the languages of the East Indies; an intimate knowledge of the languages of the Aryan family was no excuse for a too imperfect knowledge of the Non-Aryan, and rather served to make the latter more conspicuous. Besides the linguist approaches a subject such as this with the feelings of a botanist, rather than of a market-gardener. He does not know how to set potatoes or grow them, but he knows the characteristics of the tubers, and the place which they occupy in the botanical world, and he gathers this knowledge from the pages of esteemed authorities. In this manner linguistic statements rest, not upon the individual speculation of the writer, but upon the practical collection of facts by missionaries in the field, classified and arranged by one of the greatest living comparative philologists, Dr. Friederich Muller of Vienna. In his famous work, "*Ethnologie Allgemeine*," the whole of Africa is embraced, and placed in its proper place with the rest of the world; but two other great



German scholars have entered fully into distinct corners of Africa, Bleek on the languages of the South, and Lepsius on the languages of the North-East; and a great diversity of opinion is found to exist among these learned men, and a great many nuts have to be cracked before any degree of finality can be attained. All that can be done in this generation is provisional. It cannot be said with regard to any subdivision of the subject, that we have at our disposal the material for forming a deliberate opinion. Each traveller has brought home the names of new tribes speaking languages unintelligible to his followers, and to their neighbours, a few marches behind or onwards. In some cases a scanty vocabulary represents all that we know of the words, and a doubtful entry in a map is all that we know of the habitat. Now the two elementary requisites for linguistic knowledge of the lowest order, are a language map showing distinctly the whereabouts of the people, and a vocabulary of some extent, showing distinctly the words which they use, taken down on the spot, or from the lips of individuals to whom the language was their own proper tongue, in habitual and actual use. In these simple requisites our knowledge of the languages of Africa lamentably fails: we know of the existence of tribes to the East, West, North and South of certain other tribes, and we know that their language differs from any language known, and that interpreters are necessary, and there our knowledge ceases. We cannot omit mention of the existence of such a language; we presume that it belongs to the same group or family as its neighbours, because we have no proof to the contrary, but the whole subject is uncertain. We have, in short, very much the same knowledge of the languages of Africa, that a geologist has of the surface of the globe, *i.e.*, a tolerably accurate acquaintance with the language of the coast all round the Continent, with an occasional peep here and there into the interior, and a visionary speculation on the subject of the centre.

The ancient nations of Europe and Asia have left records of their languages, as spoken in old times, in literature or monumental inscriptions. With the exception of Egyptian, Ethiopian, the Punic of Carthage, and the Tamaseq of Libya, Africa has no record of the past. The seedplot of all the existing alphabets of the world is found in the hieroglyphics of Egypt, but no other native of Africa has devised, adopted, or modified an existing form of writing used elsewhere. The Semitic family brought with it its well known form of character, which spread with the Mahomedan religion to the Hamitic, Fulah and negro groups, and the Swahili of the Bantu family. The Ethiopian syllabarium degenerated into the modern form of the Amharic, but found no



favour among the other Semitic and Hamitic languages of Ethiopia. The old Libyan form of script is known to us only by monumental inscriptions, and the modern form has a very limited use. On the West Coast a peculiar form of syllabic writing was invented not many years ago by the Vei tribe, and excited more interest than it deserved, for it is merely an adaptation of a European method, and not an original conception; and when once the idea of representing sounds by symbols has been invented, it matters not what the symbols are, so long as they are well understood. The Roman alphabet, as specially modified by Lepsius, has been generally adopted by missionaries, and a century hence will be the ruling written character of the Continent. From the above remarks it will be gathered that, in considering the languages of Africa, we have no means of comparing the past with the present: our task is reduced to ascertaining and recording what we find spoken by the people, and reducing the record to such an order of classification, as will harmonize with our previous conceptions of scientific requirements.

We accept the classification of Dr. Friederich Muller of Vienna, because it is the only one which embraces the whole Continent, and because it commends itself to the judgment. It is not universally accepted, being too simple for some, who would seek a classification based on the intricacies of structure, or such grand cardinal features as the absence or presence of distinction of gender. To others it is not simple enough, for they recognise only two elements in the languages of Africa, the alien element of the North, and the indigenous element of the South. There may indeed be some truth at the bottom of this theory, and it may be presumed that there existed at some remote period, a dark race totally distinct in race and language from the fair race which invaded the continent from Asia, coming in succeeding waves, at long intervals, and intermixing with the indigenous race. We can, however, only deal with facts, and Friederich Muller exhibits these facts with sufficient accuracy in his six families or groups recorded above, which we will now proceed to describe in detail, after turning aside for a brief instant to notice the alien languages of Europe and Asia, which have in modern times found their way to the Coast, and established themselves permanently, pushing aside, in some cases, the indigenous languages, or intermixing with them, so as to give birth to new jargons.

While some languages, in which law was once given to Northern Africa, are no longer heard, such as the Egyptian, Phœnician, Ethiopian, old Persian, Greek, Latin and Vandal, other languages are now heard with authority all round the Continent. In Egypt all the great languages of Europe are familiar: in Tripoli



and Tunis, Turkish, Italian and French are spoken. In Algeria and Morocco, French and Spanish have domiciled themselves, and the vast number of Jews in the North of Africa have imported Hebrew. Along the West Coast we find Portuguese in the island groups of the Azores, Madeira, and Cape Vert, and on the mainland, far into the interior, Portuguese is often the vehicle of written communication ; at the Court of Muata Yanvo, the Cazembe, and Sepopo on the upper Zambezi, travellers mention having found that language spoken, and hundreds of negroes make use of it in the colonies of Angola and Mozambique on the East Coast : the language has left as enduring a mark upon Africa as upon India, and it is probable that this vernacular has a far greater expansion in Asia, Africa, and America than in Portugal. The Spanish has become the language of the Canary islands, Fernando Po, and to a certain extent, the delta of the Niger. The influence of French is felt in the colony of St. Louis on the Senegal river, and in the settlement on the Gabún, and it is remarked by competent judges, that the Neo-Latin languages are pronounced by the African with fairly correct pronunciation, and do not become degraded into jargons as the English and Dutch do. The latter language has played a remarkable part in the history of South Africa. Some of the Hottentot tribes have adopted the Dutch language in supersession of their own : it is a very different dialect from that spoken in Holland, with its corrupt form of words, misuse of words, barbarous mode of expressions, and daring defiance of grammar : to such an extent has this prevailed, that a grammar of Cape Dutch has been published at Cape Town. This language has further expansion before it, and may probably be one of the leading languages of the future in South Africa.

The English language has a daily increasing expansion and influence as an instrument of education, a medium of commerce not only betwixt Africans and strangers, but betwixt African tribes speaking distinct languages. All liberated slaves from North America speak English more or less pure : the Krumans, who play so large a part in navigation, speak broken English. On the East Coast the influence of English will be still greater, as no other European language has penetrated into the interior. A remarkable feature, brought into particular notice by Sir Bartle Frere, is the prevalence of the Hindustani language. From Zanzibar round by Madagascar and Mozambique, and up to Cape Guardafui, there were not half-a-dozen exceptions to the rule, that every shopkeeper was an Indian. Voyagers from India can converse everywhere with the whole body of retail dealers and local merchants in Hindustani and Gujarati, and their accounts were



made up in Gujarati and Kachí. - In fact, the whole trade is in the hands of the industrious and wealthy classes, who, in spite of the reputed prejudice of Hindus to the sea, find their way to East Africa. These alien influences must greatly affect the future vernaculars which will struggle for life on the North, South, East and West coasts of Africa. Unsupported by any indigenous literature, and many of them incapable of receiving it, scores of petty languages will disappear in the general assimilation that will go on. As we advance in our survey we shall remark, that certain potent languages must and will hold their own, and are already becoming, under the plastic hand of the missionaries, mighty elements of culture, which will swallow up, or tread out, their weaker and less gifted neighbours. It will be an interesting linguistic spectacle to watch—for doubtless the same process did take place many centuries ago—both in Europe and Asia, and we remark the outcome of the struggle, but the details of the process are lost to us.

I. The Semitic family (for it is a family in the strictest sense of the word) is well known. It resembles the Indo European in being inflexive, but its method of inflexion is quite peculiar; it is most beautiful and symmetrical, but no explanation has ever been given of its origin. We find it in full development in its earliest records. The Book of Genesis gives an account of the creation of the world, but the words used for that account indicate a language in a very high state of development, and this characteristic is sharply brought out by contrasting the refined mechanism of the speech used by Moses with contemporary Egyptian records. The influence of the Semitic on the Hamitic group, or *vice versâ*, as some assert, is of the slightest. The Semitic nation was at all times alien in Africa, but it received from Egypt the precious gift of alphabetic writing, which it handed on to the rest of the world, as if it were of its own proper invention. There are two branches of the Semitic family, that of the North coast of Africa and of Abyssinia.

The Semites possessed the eastern flank of the Nile valley from a remote period. The notorious subjugation of Egypt by the Hyksos, and the descent of the Hebrews into Egypt, have left no linguistic traces in Africa; but the colonisation of Carthage from Phœnicia has left its indelible trace in monumental inscriptions, in spite of the attempt of the Romans to destroy all trace of the foreign culture of their defeated rival. Centuries later the Arabians conquered the whole northern coast of Africa beyond even the pillars of Hercules, and Arabic supplanted the old Egyptian language in the Nile valley, and



pushing aside, if not destroying the Hamitic languages of Numidia and Mauretania, became the dominant language of Tripoli, Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco, with a distinct dialectic variation from the pure form of the Arabian desert and the Korán. A third Semitic invasion of Africa took place from South Arabia across the Red Sea, and is known as the Ethiopian, or Geez, the language of Abyssinia. In course of time the ancient form of speech gave way to the modern Tigre and the cognate Amháric. These are spoken by a Christian population in a retrograde state of culture. Travellers have brought to notice two other distinct Semitic languages, the Harári and Saho on the flanks of Abyssinia, but of no importance.

The influence of the Arabic extends far beyond the limits of the settled populations of particular kingdoms. It is the vehicle of thought over the greater part of Africa, either in the mouths of the Bedouin nomads, who surprise the travellers by their unexpected appearance, or of invading conquerors, such as the Sultan of Zanzibar; of enterprising merchants, such as the slave dealers, who are generally half-bred Arabs; of dominant races, such as that of Waday in Central Africa; and lastly, it is the instrument of the spread of Mahometanism, and of whatever culture existed independent of European contact. Up to this time it has had entirely its own way, both as a religious and as a secular power, but it may be presumed that its progress will now be checked by the powerful intrusion of the English, French and Dutch languages, and the resuscitation and culture of the numerous strong vernaculars which are ready to the hand of the European civiliser and instructor. The Arabs have left names in their language, Kabail, Kafir, and Swaheli, which can never be forgotten.

For the study of these languages we have ample supplies of grammatical words from the hands of great German scholars, and we have translations of the scriptures in Arabic, Amharic and Tigre.

II. The Hamitic languages come next in order; they are presumed to be aliens from Asia, but at so remote a period that the tradition fails. It may be bold, in the present state of our knowledge, to call this subdivision a family; it will be safer to style it a "group," with marked resemblances. It may be subdivided into three sub-groups—(1) Egypt; (2) North Africa; (3) Ethiopia. They probably have linguistic relations to each other, but they have not as yet been worked out so as to win universal concurrence, in the sense that the inter-relation of the Semitic languages is admitted as a fact of science. All the languages of the first sub-group have passed away from the lips



of men; the Coptic died some centuries ago, and has a galvanised existence as the vehicle of religious ritual; the Egyptian died before the Christian era, and as the tradition of its interpretation died also, it became linguistically extinct, or unintelligible, until revived by the genius of scholars of this century. As records carved on stone exist in this language, fully developed both as to its grammar and triple mode of writing, as far back as 4,000 years before the Christian era, no nation in the world, and no family of languages, can compete with Egypt and the Egyptian on the score of antiquity. Moreover, in the handling of words and grouping of sentences, we become aware that we are dealing with an instrument of thought indefinitely more ancient than the most ancient of Semitic or Aryan records. Egyptian had its day, and under Greco-Christian influences passed into Coptic, which again disappeared before the inroads of Arabic, thus supplying one of the most notable instances of a nation changing its language, as few will doubt that the Fellah of Egypt is the lineal descendant of the Egyptians as depicted in the monuments.

To the west of Egypt, along the coast of the Mediterranean, stretches that vast country known to the ancients as Libya. Herodotus, the father of history, knew about the Libyan tribes, as Greek and Phœnician colonies were settled on the coast. This region was known to the Romans as Mauretania, Numidia, and Getulia. These early settlers outlived the Phœnicians, Greeks, Romans and Vandals, and still struggle against the Arabs, Turks and French. The old Libyan language had no literature; it is dead, and is only faintly guessed at by inscriptions. The region is now known as Tripoli, Tunis, Algeria, Morocco and the great Sahára. In one sense, the name "Berber" may include all the Hamitic forms of speech of this sub-group, but other terms are met with, either dialects, or separate languages: Kabyle in Algeria, Shilwa in Morocco, Tamáseq in the oasis of the Sahára, Zanága on the frontier of Senegal. The extinct language of the Canary Islands, the Guanch, belonged to this group. The French have contributed a great deal to the knowledge of this branch of the Hamitic group, in which there is an entire absence of culture, and the majority of the population is nomadic and savage.

The Ethiopian sub-group of the Hamitic group lies along the Red Sea, intermixed geographically with the Ethiopian branch of the Semitic family already described. The languages are: the Somáli, Galla, Beja or Bishári, Fulásha, Dankáli, Agau and several others. It so happens that some distinguished linguistic and ethnic scholars have resided upon the central boundary of the



great language-fields of North Africa. The Victoria Nyanza occupies a remarkable ethnical and linguistic position. It is here that the Bantu, Negro, Nuba-Fulah, and Hamitic groups impinge on each other. Mtesa, King of Uganda, is credited with being of Galla origin, ruling over Bantu subjects. Our knowledge of the tribes to the north of Victoria Nyanza is too imperfect to arrive at any certain conclusions. No Semitic influences have been as yet felt in the culture, religion or language of these races. They are entirely uncivilized, without culture, generally pagan, nomadic, and savage.

German scholars have contributed a great deal to our knowledge of these languages, and we have grammatical notices of several. In this group we have translations of the Scriptures in Coptic, Berber, and Galla. Missionary societies have clung nobly, but with little success, to the hopeless task of making an impression on the Hamitic races in Ethiopia. In this corner of Africa the prospect of improvement under European influences seems to be the least cheering. In spite of numerous attempts at exploration, little addition has been made to geographical knowledge of that dreary region betwixt Abyssinia and the equator. Unlike the Semitic family, the Hamitic group has no recognizable affinity with any linguistic families or groups in Asia. Its existence on African soil dates back to at least six thousand years, and the area occupied is enormous. Lepsius and Bleek would include in this group the Hottentots of the extreme south, opening up questions of unsurpassed magnitude, for the decision of which sufficient materials have not been collected. This is one of the questions which must be left to the judgment of the next generation, when more accurate knowledge will find the link betwixt the pre-Semitic races of Africa and Mesopotamia.

III. We pass to the third group, the Nuba-Fulah, the least well-known, and the most doubtful classification. Up to this time we have dealt with inflexive languages; all that remains in Africa is agglutinative. Ethnologically speaking, the Semitic, Hamitic and Nuba-Fulah belong to "lank, curly-haired" races. All that remains of Africa consists of "woolly-fleecy, or woolly-tufted haired" races. It does not follow that the linguistic fissures should be the same as the ethnic, and we know that the contrary often prevails. Friederich Muller lays it down that this group, whose habitat is partly in the midst of the Negro group, and partly on their northern frontier, is distinctly separate from the Negro, both by physical appearance, and other certain ethnical details. It occupies a position midway betwixt the Hamitic and Negro; and here let it be borne in mind, that the Bantu



family is supposed to occupy the same intermediate position ; but the Bántu, both in their physical and physiological characteristics, take after their negro progenitors, while the Nuba-Fulah approximate more to the Hamitic. The connexion between the Nuba and Fulah seems by no means certain. Let us consider each separately :

The Nuba sub-group reach from the field of the Fulah family eastward, to the field of the Ethiopian sub-group of the Hamitic group. The pure Nubians now inhabit the valley of the Nile, from the first to the second cataract. They call themselves Barabra, and are Mahometan. Schweinfurth's narrative shows that they are a dominant race, superior in power and culture to the lower pagan races of their group, into whose territory they make inroads as merchants and slave-catchers. It is remarkable that the Nubians must have moved into their present habitat in historical times, as Herodotus does not mention them, and could not have overlooked them had they been there. The name *Νοῦβαι* first appears in Eratosthenes, who wrote, in the latter half of the third century B. C. of them as a great people, not subject to the Ethiopians of Meroe ; they must have in the interval immigrated from the west. We read of later immigrations of the same race in the time of Diocletian, 300 A. D. The names of other languages, or dialects closely connected with Nubian are given ; these races are wholly without culture and literature and imperfectly known, and dwell in the Nile valley. With far less certainty the Shangalla, on the river Takázi and Atbara, known to us by the reports of the Roman Catholic priest Beltráme, and the Wakuavi and Masai, who are made known to us by the Protestant missionaries at Mombása, are included in the Nuba sub-group. Still more hazardous and dependent upon the collection of future material, is the assignment to this sub-group of the numerous tribes whose existence has been revealed to us by Schweinfurth and Junker, on the watershed of the basins of the Nile and the Welle. Unfortunately a fire destroyed all Schweinfurth's linguistic collections. They are the Monbuttu, the Nyam-nyam, the Krej and the Golo. It must be left to the next generation to decide with certainty concerning the language of these tribes. Before leaving the group of Nuba-Fulah, it may be mentioned that it is classed ethnologically with the Dravidian and Kolarian families of India.

The Fulah family is found on the West Coast. The word means "yellow." The Fulah considers himself greatly superior to the Negro, and claims a place among "white men." He is found living intermixed with the Negro from the Lower Senegal in the west to Darfúr in the east, and from Timbuktu and



Haussa in the west to Yoruba in the south. He first made his appearance as a plundering intruder, and he is a Mahometan. In the kingdoms of Sokotu and Gandu there is a Fulah power. The name appears as Pul, Pulo, Fulah, Fulbe, Felláta, Fuladu. The Fulah race has intermixed with the Negro, which has produced other varieties. Fortunately, we have an excellent grammar by Reichardt, and a translation of some chapters of the Bible by Consul Baikie. Seven varieties of languages or dialects (for it is impossible to say which) are recorded; but Futa Jallo, on the river Senegal, is accepted as the standard. Its linguistic features are the use of affixes, and the existence of genders, rational and irrational. The languages may be accepted as belonging to one family, and all going back to the same mother-speech.

Here notice must be made of Lepsius' Monumental Work, the *Nubische Grammatik* 1880, in which the learned old man condenses his experience of forty years, for the writer of these pages met him in 1843 at the great Pyramid during his celebrated scientific exploration, and his attention has been continuously directed to this, his favourite subject, during his long peaceful and honoured life as Professor and Custodian of the Berlin Museum. Besides the Nubian grammar, and a German-Nubian vocabulary, and a translation of a Gospel, and an appendix on the dialects of the Nubian, in a long introduction he passes under review the whole subject of the classification of African languages. With the utmost respect for the opinions of this grand old scholar, it is but just to state that there are too many questionable points of ethnology and comparative philology propounded, to allow of their being accepted otherwise than provisionally or as a basis for future investigation.

IV. From absence of a better name the next group is styled the Negro group, a name unquestionably inadequate. It is, in fact, a conglomeration of totally unconnected component parts, something analogous to the old Turanian in Asia of a quarter of a century ago: a kind of bag into which all languages, which could not be provided for elsewhere, were provisionally flung. Just as the word Turanian has gradually disappeared from Asiatic classifications, or been gradually reduced to the comparatively moderate limits of one family, even so the term "Negro," which is totally insufficient, will disappear, giving way to a scientific, or at least intelligible nomenclature.

We must recollect that the Negro type is a very marked one, and appears distinctly on the monuments of old Egypt 5000 years ago; and, though it may have undergone much admixture in the interior, it is pure on the coast. Of the purity of the



languages we cannot speak with certainty. The presence of the Nuba-Fulah from the north, the presence of the Mahometan religion in their midst, the influence of European nations and Americanised Negroes on the coast, must leave an influence. The Hausa is the great commercial language of Central Africa, far exceeding the limits of the region occupied by the Hausa race. It is an isolated language, and has borrowed certain characteristics from contact with Hamitic and Semitic races. It is spoken even as far north as Tripoli. It is attributed by one scholar to the Hamitic group, by another to the Nuba-Fulah, by a third to the Negro group. It might have been presumed that there was a general consensus that these Negro languages were independent of any other group of languages; but so great a scholar as Bleek has laid it down, that some of the Negro languages actually belonged to the same family as the Bantu, and others were related to them. This shows how far we are at present from any certainty, on any portion of the subject, from the absence of sufficient material.

As far as we know they are all agglutinative, but that is but a slight link of connexion; the Negro group by no means extends all over Africa, but it comprises the great bulk of the population. A race with less inherent vitality would have been extinguished by the trials which it has had to undergo, circumscribed to the south and east by the Bantu, pressed upon to the north by the Nuba-Fulah, and deported in millions by the Europeans. The Negro may be said to share with the Bushman the honour of being the original inhabitant of Africa. The tract from the river Senegal to the river Niger is the seat of the pure Negro, but the return from America, or from captured vessels, of freed Negroes of very mixed races, has affected this purity, and some of the mixed races, containing Hamitic, Semitic, and Fulah elements, are the finest.

Everything about the languages of this group must be accepted as provisional. We know neither the extent of the variety of the languages, of their relation to each other, of their dialectical variations, nor have we full information regarding those languages of which we have vocabularies or grammatical notes. We can hardly define the boundaries of the field of languages, and they have absolutely no literature. One thing is clear, that they cannot have been derived from one stock, though all that are known are agglutinative in structure. There must have been many distinct seedplots, for not only does the grammatical structure forbid the hypothesis of any original unity, but there is no such uniformity of vocabulary as would support the idea.

The region extends right across Africa in its broadest extent



from the West Coast to the Nile valley, where, four groups of languages meet, somewhere in the 4th or 5th degree of North Latitude.

Not a monument, raised by Negro hand, remains to testify the material greatness of the tribes, or tell of some extinct civilization, as in America or Asia. There is no written character, for the Vei character is merely a modern adaptation of an idea imported from Europe. Proverbs and oral traditions of uncertain antiquity live on the lips of men, but no Negro sage or legislator lives in the recollection of the people. In fact there is no history, and nothing worth recording, and no past, and it is difficult to believe that there is a promise of a better future. But they are not broken races, hiding themselves in the depths of forests, and few in number and poor; on the contrary, their number is as the sands of the sea, nor is the climate insalubrious to them or unproductive, but they have rude agricultural wealth, and mineral wealth is not absent. It cannot be stated as a fact, or even presumed as a probability, that before the outburst of Mahometan proselytism they were oppressed from the outside, as they were inaccessible, and neither Egyptian, Persian, Greek, Roman, or pre-Mahometan Arab could get at them. They are not found to be deficient in intelligence, when trained in European schools, and selected individuals are susceptible of the highest culture. They have been cursed by chronic internal warfare, entire absence of public opinion, or personal independence, domestic slavery, the absence of any kind of exportable manufactures; men and women have not risen to the dignity of wearing decent clothing. No messenger ever came to them with a book-religion, reproving, advising, elevating, holding out examples and warnings: for be it remembered, to the book-religions, however theologically erroneous, Asia is indebted for her civilization. The Negro was never privileged to discover the art of writing, by which his language would have become the handmaid of progress and morality, and he has remained, down to our days, the prey to slavery, cannibalism, witchcraft of the most odious character, and human sacrifices of monstrous abomination.

It must not be supposed that no progress has been made: of some languages of the Negro group we have noble grammars, the work of great scholars: we have numerous translations of the Holy Scriptures, and plenty of religious and educational works: we have grammatical notices of the greatest value and vocabularies of others, but the most competent authorities describe a great many of the languages of which we have sufficient knowledge, as isolated, admitting of no affinity to any other known variety. This by itself suggests



that the linguistic phenomena of the Negro region have not yet been fully exposed to view. We do not find isolated languages elsewhere, except in rare cases, and they are generally survivals of extinct families. The vast empty spaces on the map, which have hitherto evaded the pen of the geographer and cartographer, and the tale of every explorer, warn us of the presence of a great "terra incognita" and unrevealed millions. It is like standing upon the sea shore and listening to the confused noise of the waves, or upon a high tower, and listening to the murmur caused by the sound of voices below, for we know nothing for certain with regard to the languages of Negroland. Even the vast collections in the monumental work of Koelle, *Polyglotta Africana*, for which he received the Volney prize, resemble a handful of shells tossed upon the shore and picked up at random after having been blown far into the interior; for he picked up his knowledge from the frail recollections of released slaves, and his records are of no use until they pass under the hands of the skilful assorter, and not of much use even then.

There has been a constant pressure from the savage tribes in the interior down the river-basins to the sea coast, crushing and breaking up the tribes, which have already reached the coast and tasted the sweets of commerce and low civilization. In the interior are found the raw products which are required for export, and the savage races wish to free themselves from the go-betweens on the coast: thus new languages force themselves into notice. Even with regard to languages well known scholars cannot agree as to their classification, and there is a plentiful crop of linguistic quarrels. It is worthy of remark that the greatest assistance in composing grammars and translating the Holy Scriptures, has been rendered by one who was himself a slave, and, released by British cruisers and trained in British schools, has risen to be a Bishop,—Samuel Crowther.

To render the subject intelligible, three great territories or sub-groups may be carried out in Negroland on purely geographical considerations, and, dividing each into two sections, the name of the chief language can be stated:

I. Western Negroland. From the basin of the River Senegal to the basin of the Quarrah branch of the river Niger.

II. Central Negroland. From the basin of the Binué branch of the river Niger, and of the Lower United Niger, to the basin of Lake Chad.

III. Eastern Negroland. Basin of the upper Nile.

In Western Negroland there are, for sake of convenience, marked off two sections.

I. From the Senegal river to Cape Palmas.



II. From Cape Palmas to the basin of the Lower Niger (exclusive.)

The first section comprises the French and English Colonies of Senegambia and Sierra Leone, the free state of Liberia, and the great languages of Mandingo, Serawullie, Bambara, Vei, Susu, Mende, Woluf, Felup, Bullom, Temne, Sherborough, Haussa and Sourhai, spoken at Timbuktú on the Upper Niger. Some of these languages are the vernaculars of great heathen or Mahometan independent nationalities, of whom individuals are met in the European marts, while countless thousands are beyond European ken, and, in spite of the continuous exertions made by French and English to open a route from the Coast to the Upper Niger, it has not been accomplished yet.

In the Second Section are situated the famous ivory, gold, and slave coasts, with the English colony of Cape Coast castle and Lagos, the terrible kingdoms of Ashanti and Dahomey, the independent republics of Yorubaland, and the kingdom of Nupe on the Quarrah branch of the Niger. Here are spoken the following languages, which are well-known: the Kru, Grebo, Basa, Ewe, Igaruk, Nupe, Yoruba, Odschi, and Akra or Ga, with their numerous dialects and scores of different names.

In the second territory of Negroland there are also two sections:—

I. The basin of the Niger within the limits stated.

II. The basin of lake Chad.

In the former territory our knowledge was restricted to the Coast districts: in this territory we pierce into the interior of Africa, and our information is very incomplete. Commerce and mission work have extended up the delta of the United Niger, but there are no European settlements. The languages spoken are the Ibo, Efik, Okrika, Brass, Bomey, Mbafu, old Calabar, and Mitsi. Above the junctions of the streams we hear of other languages, but the river Binue flows from undiscovered countries, and is one of the problems of the future. Of the basin of lake Chad our knowledge is gathered from the reports of adventurous travellers, like Barth, Nachtigall and others, and we know of the language of Bornu, or Kanuri, Baghirmi, Tibbre or Tedah, Maba, and others with more or less detail. They are but a drop in the ocean of languages and dialects spoken betwixt the Sahára and the Northern bend of the Kongo, which time must reveal.

The striking feature is, that in this central region we have powerful kingdoms and a certain amount of civilization, but commerce in vain tries to reach it from Tripoli across the Sahára from the north, or up the Niger from the south. No European foot but that of the hardy explorer, with his life in his hand, has as yet tried these regions.



The third territory comprises more familiar ground, as the whole is nominally under the Khedive of Egypt. The first section comprises the tribes dwelling in the basin of the White Nile, and the second section the imperfectly known tribes of the tracts of the Bahar al Ghazal. They are all downright savages and seem likely to continue so, as the attempt to annex these regions to Egypt and put down the slave trade appears to have produced greater evils in the unhappy country than it had to endure before. For the present, at least, the veil has fallen over these regions, and linguistic knowledge will not advance.

V. We pass on to the Bantu family, for a family it is in the strictest sense, and therefore a mighty contrast to the great unconnected, incoherent group which we have just passed under review. It includes all Africa south of the equator, allowing for the enclave of the Hottentot-bushman group.

The veteran Dr. Krapf claims the merit of the great discovery, that a single family of languages prevailed throughout Africa south of the equator, with certain reserved tracts for the Hottentot and Bushman. It was indeed a great discovery, announced by him in 1845, under the name of the Zipjian, a thoroughly unsuitable name, or Nilotic, a thoroughly inapplicable name. The name Bantu, or "men," is now accepted. In spite of the wide spread of this family from shore to shore, there is unmistakeable evidence in their genius, their phonetics, and their vocabulary, that all the languages had a common mother; they can be dealt with in the same manner as we deal with the Aryan, Dravidian, and Semitic families. Some of the features of the common parent appear in each of the descendants. The language of the Ama Xosa, commonly called Kafir, is allowed for the present to occupy the first rank. However, we must remember that the linguistic and ethnical strata are not always uniform. Some tribes in Lower Guinea speak a Bantu language, though belonging ethnologically to a pure negro type.

The language-field of this family exceeds that of any other, but it would be unsafe to state any, even approximate, idea of the population. New tribes are being made known to us every year. It is entirely independent of any other type of language, having remarkable features of its own. It has been well studied by excellent scholars, both in detail, in separate languages, and as a family by great comparative linguists, such as Bleek and Friederich Muller. It is distinctly agglutinative in method, but also alliteral, and subject to remarkable euphonic laws. It has on its frontier been influenced by alien neighbours, for we find in some languages clicks, borrowed from the Bushman; and on the North-eastern frontier Hamitic influences are felt in conterminous



languages. However, so little is known for certain, that the development of this marvellous family must be left to the next generation. Friederich Muller confidently indicates Semitic and Hamitic influences, which must date back to the infancy of the language.

Bleek, who had actual knowledge of the subject, in addition to a profound knowledge of language generally, records his opinion on the characteristics of the family. The words are polysyllabic, and the syllables open: diphthongs rare; of derivative prefixes there were originally sixteen, but only two have a decided reference to distinctions observed in nature, being restricted to nouns respecting reasonable beings, the one in the singular, the other in the plural number. The form of this latter is *ba*, actually or in some other manner obtained from it. There are few adjectives, and in their place, most generally, a particular construction is used. The genitive is denoted by a prefixed genitive particle. The cases are indicated by prepositions; different kinds of verbs are formed by variation of the ending and moods, and the perfect time is indicated in the same way. The most simple form of the verb is the singular of the imperative.

Bleek paid also much attention to the euphonic laws which differentiated one language, or branch of language, of this family from the other. He showed that the languages differed from each other more than the language of the Teutonic and Neo-Latin family differ from each other. The greater bulk of words in each language, though identical in origin, became wholly dissimilar, owing to the action of the euphonic laws which change their form. The grammatical forms are also very different. And this difference is to such an extent, that the Ama Xosa and Bechuana cannot understand each other, though in the same branch of the family. Bleek took pains to illustrate this new form of what he calls the great "Grimm" law of transmutation of sound in Bantu. There are three clicks in the language of the Kafirland sub-branch.

Some further explanation seems required of the euphonic or alliteral concord, which is so striking a feature. The initial element of the noun, a letter, or letters, or a syllable appears as the initial element of the adjective; the pronoun assumes the form corresponding to the initial of the noun for which it stands; the important part of the initial of the governing noun is detached to assist in forming the bond of connection with, and control over, the noun or pronoun governed in the genitive; *ex gratiâ* :—

*i Zimmi Zami Zi ya li Zua Lizai Lami.*

Sheep (of) me they do it hear voice (of) me.

Bearing in mind that vast portions of the territory of the Bantu



language-field have only been imperfectly explored, or not explored at all, we adopt provisionally the classification into three branches, the Southern, the Eastern, and Western. Each of these is again subdivided into sub-branches, which are sufficient for present necessities, but which, as regards the Eastern and Western, must be indefinitely extended as time goes on, to admit of proper classification of the scores of languages which come under observation. This classification is mainly based on geographical data.

Each traveller who finds his way from the Eastern to the Western sea, or *vice versa*, or visits the coast of Muata Yanvo at Kabebe, or of the Kazembe at Lunda, or the Kassongo, finds himself in the midst of teeming thousands. New tribes and new languages or dialects are revealed each year. We have the advantage in this family of grammatical works in two of the languages of the West Coast, the Bunda and Kongoese, written by Roman Catholic missionaries in the sixteenth century, which supply a certain standard, by which the influence of time upon these unwritten, and therefore fleeting, vocalisms can be measured. Travellers who have passed from Zanzibar to the West Coast, south of the equator, distinctly record the fact, that communications could be held betwixt speakers of Swaheli and of the languages of West Africa.

The southern branch has been divided by Bleek into three sub-branches: I. Káfirland. II. Bechuána-land. III. Tekeya. The word Kafir was applied by the Mahometan invaders of the East Coast to all the pagan tribes of the interior, and is often used very laxly in linguistic books, but it is now strictly applicable to one tribe only of this sub-branch, the Ama Xosa, celebrated for their constant warfare with the English and Dutch. Closely allied to them are the celebrated Ama Zulu, and the less well known Ama-ponda, Ama-fingu, Ama-zwai, Matabele, Makalala, the ruling tribe in Umzilás kingdom, and the scattered bands of Maviti, or Watuta, known by many other names North of the Zambesi. The two great languages of this sub-branch are thoroughly well known, and have become the vehicle of a large grammatical, devotional, and educational literature, under the influence of the great English and American Missionary Societies.

The Bechuána-land sub-branch comprises the languages of the majority of the vast population which occupies the interior of Africa, south of the tropic of Capricorn, intermixed with bushmen and half-blood tribes. They are separated from the Kafir sub-branch by the Drakenburg range; southward they extended to the Orange River; westward to the Kalahári Desert, and northward as far as the Lake Ngami. Being powerful, they have brought under subjection tribes belonging to the eastern and western branches of this family. There are two divisions



of this sub-branch, the eastern and western. The eastern Bechuána tribes are the Basúto. Who speak Sesuto; the Batan, who speak Setan; the Bútsetse, who speak Se-tsetse; the Ba-mapela, who speak Se-mapela; the Ba-puti, who speak Se-puti; the Ba-tloung who speak Se-tloung and others. The western Bechuána tribes are the Ba-rolung, who speak Se-rolung; the Ba-hlapi, who speak Se-hlapi; the Ba-khwena, who speak Se-khwena; the Ba-kaa, who speak Se-kaa; the Ba-mangwato, who speak Se-bangwato; the Makololo; and the Marutse Makonda, on the Zambesi river, described by Dr. Holub. The words of this sub-branch sound harsh, and its pronunciation offers a striking contrast to the melodiousness of the Zulu, to which language, however, it has a greater resemblance than to the Kafir. There are no clicks in this sub-branch, and there is an abundance of linguistic and educational works, for which we are indebted to the missionaries.

The third sub-branch of the southern branch is the Tekeza, spoken to the north-east of the Kafir sub-branch, and some distance to the north of Delagoa Bay, and in the neighbourhood of Lorenzo Marquez. A remarkable linguistic phenomenon is vouched for by Dr. Bleek, that the tribes occupying the entire coast-line of Zululand used to speak Tekeza languages, which they have abandoned in favour of Kafir. Some few of the Natal tribes are said to speak among themselves Tekeza languages. Clicks are unknown, except in those dialects which have come under Zulu influence. The southern and Zuluised tribes of this sub-branch are the Amancolesi, about 2,000 in number, in Natal; the northern are the Amatonga and Ama-hloenga, living near Delagoa Bay. The former seems to be a generic name for a variety of tribes inhabiting the interior of the Portuguese coast. Nothing has been published to illustrate the language of this sub-branch.

It is doubtful whether this sub-branch will stand the test of further inquiry, for, as far as the reports of the explorers of this tract inform us, the dominant races speak Zulu, and the conquered and subordinate races speak Sesuto.

The eastern branch of the Bántu family is the creation of the last twenty years of English and American exploring. No book has yet been written which gives any account of the phenomena disclosed: in the course of the next quarter of a century there will be a rich harvest of accumulated materials. The outlines of the field may be marked with certainty, but it is virgin soil. We have taken the responsibility of dividing it into three sub-branches, based upon geographical features:—

1.—The lower basin of the River Zambézi.



II.—Zanzibár and its adjacent territory, North of Lake Nyassa, and draining into the Indian Ocean.

III.—The basins of the Victoria Nyanza, and Lake Tanganyika as far west as Nyangwe.

The first sub-branch, the Zambési basin, comprises an ever-increasing number of languages spoken by the tribes which come into contact with the missionaries, who have lately invaded that river and Lake Nyassa; the boundary of this sub-branch on the east extends north to an imaginary line separating it from the Zanzibar sub-branch, and on the west as far into Central Africa as the Victoria Falls. Considering the extremely scanty extent of materials, this grouping must be deemed entirely provisional, and only a convenient mode of collecting the names of languages known to exist in a certain territory. It is only by constant study of the narratives of travellers and missionaries that information can be gained, but the scientific character of the informants gives a value to what they state far beyond the random jottings down of the ordinary traveller. So far as it goes, it is accurate, but it goes only a very little way. We gratefully acknowledge a dictionary of some standing of the Nyassa by Rebman, and a grammar of that language by Riddell of the Free Church Mission. This is the language of Lake Nyassa, and if cultivated, and made the vehicle of instruction, will extinguish its weaker rivals.

There are nineteen languages already recorded in this sub-branch. The Portuguese occupation of the basin of the Zambési for more than two centuries has added nothing to linguistic knowledge, but small valuable treatises are now being compiled by the missionaries, and of some, such as the Yao, Makua; Manganga and Makonde, they have appeared, and vocabularies of others, and the habitat of these tribes is known.

The second sub-branch is the Zanzibár; this extends from the island of Ibo, on the confines of the Mozambique territory, along the coast of the Indian Ocean, to the confines of the Galla and Wakuafi where the Bántu family meets the tribes of the Hamitic and Nuba-Fulah groups already described. It embraces all the low coast, and the range of mountains running parallel to the coast, from the confines of the Zambési sub-branch, to the country of the Masai of the Nuba-Fulah group. The dominant language throughout this sub-branch is the Swahéli, the speech of the coast, as its name indicates, deeply affected by Arabic, used by Mahometans, and expressed in the Arabic character, and influenced by Arabic culture, but unintelligible to the savages of the interior. These savage languages are being slowly developed by the labours of the missionaries. For the Swahéli all



has been done that is required by Bishop Steere and Dr. Krapf, but of the other languages we have little more than brief vocabularies, or short notices, but it is a promise for the future to have got so much. It gives some idea of the rapidly expanding knowledge, to mention that Friederich Muller only gives three languages of the sub-branch, which, owing to the diligence and energy of explorers, is now so rapidly expanding. It is pleasant to read in the reports that such a one is busy at the languages, has grammars and vocabularies, or a translation of a gospel in hand, and this is going on all down the line; and the funds are entirely provided by religious societies, who thus indirectly contribute to the extending of science.

Several islands, such as the Archipelago of Comoro, are included in this sub-branch, but Madagascar, as belonging to a different linguistic system, is excluded. If any Africans are in that island as slaves or settlers, they must be treated as aliens. It is remarkable, that our great explorers have generally accomplished their tasks by the aid of Swahéli, and a class of interpreters seems always available who speak this *lingua Franca*. We predict for this language a remarkable position in the civilisation of Eastern Africa, but small grammatical notices are appearing of others of the twenty-seven recorded names of this sub-branch, such as the Shambala, Boondei, Zaramo, Guido, and Angaridza, in addition to vocabularies.

The third sub-branch, that of the Victoria and Tanganyika Lakes, has been formed at a date entirely subsequent to the latest information available to Friederich Muller, and is the result of Stanley's famous journey across the Dark Continent, and the two great religious missions planted by the Church Missionary Society and London Missionary Society in answer to his challenge. If in five years so much has been done, what will be the result at the end of a quarter of a century? In connexion with Victoria Nyanza many languages have been indicated, and their existence substantiated. In the language of the court of the King of Uganda, a portion of the Scriptures has been translated; of the Nyamwezi we have a grammatical notice by Bishop Steere. The northern boundary of this sub-branch is the line of contact of the Negro, Hamitic, and Nuba-Fulah groups already alluded to. On the east it is conterminous with the Zanzibár sub-branch, and to the south with that of the Zambési. To the far west an imaginary line must be drawn due south from Nyangwe on the Lualába (which Stanley proved to be the Kongo), until it reaches the Zambesi. Beyond that point the languages recorded must be entered in the western branch of the Bántu family, until, in due time, we have collected enough material to establish a



separate group or family, as the case may be, for Central Africa South of the equator and north of the Zambézi, which, with the exception of the tract of Cameron, is now wholly unknown. In connection with Lake Tanganyika we have information from the south, owing to the exploration of the Geographical Society, and the visit of the Free Church Missionaries from Lake Nyassa. We have English missionaries established on one part of Lake Tanganyika, and French Roman Catholic missionaries at another. Nothing of a tangible linguistic character has reached us yet, but we are enabled to record the names and position of the tribes speaking distinct languages, or, possibly dialects of languages, and leave it to time to fill in the picture.

We can see no limit to the expansion of this sub-branch, which will comprise all the unknown tribes inhabiting the basin of the upper waters of the Kongo, and the mysterious lakes of Moero and Bangweolo. English commerce will soon develope itself upon the road traced out by English missionaries, and English and American explorers. The names which come practically before us, read like the names in some fairy tale: they will fall into the places allotted for them, and the great frame of East Africa in the southern tropic will gradually be filled up, and in a few years the explorers from the west will shake hands with the explorers from the east at Nyangwe. We have reason to believe that the same family of languages are spoken in the whole basin of the Kongo, but Northward of Nyangwe there is a terra incognita betwixt the West side of the Albert Nyanza and the basin of the mysterious river Welle. In the fullness of time the geographical and linguistic secrets of this region will be revealed, and we shall be able to trace the line where the Negro and Bantú races march together, and impinge on each other, and possibly affect each other's languages.

The western branch of the Bantu family comprises the western half of south tropical Africa from the Namaqua-land of the Hottentot group to the south, as far north as the Kamerún mountains. To the north an uncertain boundary of unexplored territory divides it from the Negro field, and it is remarkable that some tribes, ethnically Negro, speak Bantu languages. To the east there is the vast space of unexplored Central Africa, on both banks of the Kongo, savages, cannibals, and warlike. There are three sub-branches:—

I.—The Portuguese Colony of Angola and its dependencies and the country south, up to the confines of Namaqua-land.

II.—The basin of the Lower Kongo.

III.—The basin of the Ogoway-Gabun and the country north of the equator as far as the Kamerun mountains. The whole



of this branch presents a hopeful field for enquiry, as there is a great deal of life along the whole coast, under the influence of English, French, German, Portuguese, Spanish and American visitors for different purposes.

In the first sub-branch we find the Herero language and the Shindonga of Ovampo, spoken by tribes nominally under English influence, south of the river Cunene. North of that river, within the Portuguese colony of Angola, the Bunda language is spoken. We have the advantage here of grammar and dictionaries by Caunecattim, Capuchin, published at Lisbon 1504 A. D. It apparently extends over a large tract, but later travellers have reported the existence of another language spoken at Bihé, and other names are given beyond the Portuguese frontier, and the German travellers, Pogge and Buchner, who penetrated to Kabebe, the capital of Muata Yanvo, have brought back other names, but very little certainty.

The sub-branch of the Kongo basin contains the germ of new discoveries, as missionaries and explorers are pushing up the river as far as Stanley pool. The Kongoese, or Fiote, is illustrated by a grammar by Bruscioltus, published at Rome 1659 A.D. It may be in a few years that we shall have steamers from Stanley pool to Nyangwe, and a row of new languages revealed to us. We may reckon with certainty on receiving very shortly information of the dialects of the basin of the Kongo west of the pool, and translations of the Holy Scriptures.

From this sub-branch, so replete with undefined promise, yet at present with no fruit which is the result of modern culture, we pass northwards into the sub-branch of the Ogowah-Gabún basin, and find several well defined languages illustrated by works of great merit, revealing to us most completely the nature of the languages used by the Mpongwe, Dualla, Dikele, Isubu, Bimbia, Bakele, and the residents of the island of Férnando Po. We have good and sufficient grammars, translations of portions of the Holy Scriptures, and abundance of smaller works, the results of the labours of English and American missionaries over a long course of years.

We have recorded one hundred and forty-three names of languages of this family, probably one-third only of the vast number of which we know nothing but which will emerge into light. Some of these names will represent dialects only of a greater language: some will be mere synonyms of languages already recorded, for this pitfall is always open to the linguist. Travellers may bring home a vocabulary with a new name, but after careful sifting, it may be found to be an old friend with slight variations. We take leave of this magnificent family with the feeling that it is the only



one which, in a linguistic sense, can compete with the great Aryan family.

VI. Driven down to the extreme south of the Continent of Africa, and only saved from extinction by the advent of the English and by the efforts of Christian missionaries, we find the sixth and last linguistic group, which, but for the smallness of the population, ought to form two groups, as the component parts have no relation whatever to each other. We allude to the group of the Hottentot bushmen. Their existence is, however, important, as throwing some light on the character of the earlier, if not aboriginal, inhabitants of the continent, as unquestionably we have to deal with tribes broken and reduced by the powerful inroad from the north of the great Bantu family.

Sub-group "Hottentot." However the word may be spelt, or from whatever cause assigned, it is not the real name of the tribe who call themselves "Koikoib" (men of men), and are called "Lawi" by their Kafir neighbours. They number 350,000, and are considered to have four dialects—Nama, the purest and standard, spoken in Namaqua-land to the north; Kora, on the Orange River; a third is spoken by the eastern division of the tribe; and a fourth, and a very impure variety, in the neighbourhood of Capetown. To these must be added the Griqua, or bastards, the issue of Dutch and Hottentot, speaking a mixed language. There are many excellent works by missionaries about and in this language, and it may be considered to be sufficiently well-known. In all probability its days are numbered. Friederich Muller records his opinion, that it is an isolated language, with no connexion with any other African or non-African form of speech; though morphologically agglutinative, the roots are monosyllabic; there are genders and numbers formed by suffixes; the pronoun is the vivifying element, and, joined to nouns and verbs, differentiates the meaning. The oral literature consists of songs and animal stories, which have been collected by sympathising scholars. The great feature of the language is the existence of four clicks, formed by a different position of the tongue. The dental click is almost identical with the sound of indignation, not unfrequently uttered by Europeans; the lateral click is the sound with which horses are stimulated to action; the guttural click is not unlike the popping of a champagne cork, and the palatal click is compared to the cracking of a whip.

A variety of opinions may be quoted as to the ethnological origin of the Hottentot. Hovelacque declares that he is but a cross-breed, and that, whatever may be said to the isolation of his language, he has no pretence to independence of race. Max



Muller quotes Dr. Moffat as an authority for a resemblance of the Hottentot language with that of some of the tribes of the Upper Nile. Such assertions must, at the present stage of the inquiry, be supported by actual proof at first hand or withdrawn, as if supported only by hearsay statements, they are of no value. We must deal with actual facts, and, in their absence, it is of no use hazarding theories of an archaic race extending in a continual line down the whole Continent of Africa. No doubt the Hottentot and Bushman are like the Basque in Europe, the survival of an ethnological and linguistic stratum which has disappeared elsewhere, and, in the absence of written records, left no trace behind. Bleek and Lepsius, whose names can only be mentioned with profound respect, connect the Hottentot with the Hamitic group.

The names of scholars whom we should add to connect with this portion of the subject are, Bleek, Hahn, Tindall, and Wallmann. To them we are indebted for grammatical notices, vocabularies, and a considerable amount of educational and religious literature. A missionary being invited by the Government to send books in the Kora dialect to be printed, remarked, that his experience was, that it was easier to teach the young to read Dutch, and that the old could not learn at all.

Sub-group "Bushman" comprises one isolated language, and is in a very low state of linguistic development. The name was assigned to them by the Dutch, because they dwelt in the bush; they call themselves Saab, or Saan, and are totally distinct from, and shunned by the Hottentot and Bantu. The language belongs to the monosyllabic order, as far as we can judge; there is no gender; the formation of the plural is exceedingly irregular, and of the sixty ways of forming it, reduplication of the noun is the most common as the most natural; but the use of the plural seems to be as abnormal as the formation. In some particulars there are analogies common to the Bushman and the Hottentot. Dr. Bleek made many years study of this subject, having members of the tribe in his household, and collected materials for grammar, dictionary, and folk-lore before his premature death. We can only hope that his successor Hahn, will complete the unfinished work.

It must be remembered that the Bushmen are a broken and despised race, in the lowest state of culture, neither pastoral nor agricultural, but living by hunting, and nomadic; they have no appearance of tribal unity, and no chief. Before the English rule they were treated as little better than wild beasts. The "click" sounds are believed to be their original property, and to have been communicated by them, in always decreasing



proportion, to the Hottentot and Kafirland sub-branch of the Bantu family; for the Bushman, in addition to the four clicks already described as a feature of the Hottentot language, has a fifth, sixth, and sometimes a seventh and eighth, and not only before vowels and gutturals, but before labials. Such sounds are almost incapable of expression by Europeans, and it would almost appear that they are connecting links between articulate and inarticulate sounds.

The Bushmen are of exceedingly small stature, thus opening out the question of their belonging to the now well-established tribes of pigmies in North and Central Africa. In appearance they seem to belong to the lowest order of humanity; they inhabit outskirts and desert places, and are shy and wild. We read, however, of tame Bushmen: the Babomuntsu, on the outskirts of the Basuto country, and other tribes with mutually unintelligible languages, with evident traces of Bantu influence in their form of speech, both wild and tame, within the recognised territory of Bantu sub-branches. Only lately it was mentioned, that a Bushman, who resided beyond Damaraland, had come under notice, whose language was unintelligible to the Bushmen at Capetown. Friederich Muller states that they are found as far as the rivers Cunéne and Zambesi, and even beyond. If such is indeed the case, we are not in a position to arrive at any final opinion about them.

One remarkable feature still remains to be noticed. No trace of the invention of writing has been found South of the equator, but the Bushmen have acquired a wonderful power of painting scenes on rocks and in caves. Animals, human figures, dancing, hunting, fights, are portrayed with fidelity, and that the art has existed down to modern times, is evident from the appearance of Boers in some of the fights. It appears that the art of sculpture was also known, and that the outlines of some of the figures are excellent.

To the Hottentot Bushman group must be provisionally attached two interesting sub-groups, of whom we know little or nothing, except that they exist: I. The scattered broken races. II. The dwarfs, or pigmies. Every traveller mentions the existence of the first sub-group, a helot class in an extremely low state of culture, expert hunters, without habitations or vestments, living in jungle and forests using the bow and arrow, and, if not always linguistically, at least ethnically, distinct from the dominant and superior races. When Africa is well known, and the names and distinguishing features, and language of all these scattered races are brought together and submitted to intercomparison, then only will any classification be possible. Their colour is often yellow, and when



compared with the colour of the black Negro, and brown Bantú, has even been called white. The second sub-group is a more marvellous instance of the perpetuation of ethnical phenomena, for Homer mentions the existence of dwarfs, and later ages have placed their existence beyond doubt in the persons of the Akka, the Doko, and the Obongo. Specimens of the Akka have been in the possession of Europeans, and one found its way to Europe, and the language has been recorded. It is yet too early to form any theory: we can only record facts, and wait till the unexplored tracts in the centre of Africa have been revealed. While, on the one hand, we may rest assured, that no monstrosities, or abnormal variations of the human form have been discovered, on the other hand, we must admit the existence of every variety of stature colour and proportions, and, as a convincing proof of the wide difference of man and beast, we find unlimited variations of sound, word and sentence to express the thought, the wishes, and the fears, fantastic and innumerable fashions of hair-dressing and personal adornments, and customs differing in details, but resembling each other in abominable and pitiless cruelty.

Over and above the names recorded by travellers or word-collectors, is a great multitude (which no man can as yet number) of peoples and tongues which it must be left to future generations to discover and record; and, till that event takes place, no one can presume to say that his account of the languages is complete. And there is this further complication, that writers constantly record the fact that such and such a language is dying out, and, as this process has been going on for centuries, leaving not the faintest impress on the sands of time, an idea may be formed how remote is the solution of the problem of the origin of human speech.

Moffat also, who is no mean authority, records his opinion, that new languages are in the course of formation. Lepsius also remarks on the ceaseless changes of the vocabulary, though the structure of the language or family remains the same. How the phonetic of a language changes from day to day, we have evidence all over the world.

The great propagandists of linguistic knowledge all over Asia, Africa, America and Australia, have been the great Protestant Missionary Societies, and foremost among them the British and Foreign Bible Society. The motive of the linguistic labours of this last Society is a higher one than the promotion of science, but it has, by its co-operation with the other Societies, brought together a *repertoire* of languages and dialects in the form of translations of the Scriptures the like of which the world never saw, and which is the wonder of foreign nations; and this remark specially applies to Africa. No other motive is conceivable to



induce men of scholarship and industry to run the risk of disease and death for the purpose of reducing to writing the form of speech of downright savages, except for the one purpose of religious instruction. In many languages the Scriptures are the only book, and a linguistic scholar would be devoid of all feelings of gratitude, if he did not heartily thank the missionary for opening out to him channels of information, hopelessly concealed, and the Bible Society for scattering it broadcast at far below the cost of mere printing.

To England falls the honor of being foremost in the re-discovery of Africa. No one can dispute that fact. The Portuguese dropped the skein. The English picked it up. The English have not the sweetness and light of the great French people, nor the solidity and depth of knowledge of the Germans, but they are practical, strong and self-willed. A camel to them is a beast of burden to carry bales of cotton, or of Bibles: a tribe is an aggregation of men and women to be clothed with these cottons, and converted with these Bibles; the languages are learnt, and books are composed in them for practical purposes, and neither romance nor science is thought of.

It is well that a German is always available for such work as composing grammars, translating Bibles, and managing self-supporting missions, for the Englishman has no time for such pursuits. Great is the debt of Africa to the long succession of great scholars who have examined the truthful, though incomplete works issued by the labourers in the field, and instituted comparison of language with language, group with group: thus gradually some order has been introduced, and future scholars will labour with some feeling of certainty, adding brick by brick to the great fabric, the plan of which has been sketched out by great linguistic architects. Though Africa has no works of art and science to shew as the result of the long silent centuries which have passed away since the time of Herodotus, the existence of the Negro group of isolated and totally distinct languages, side by side with the great Bantu family, with its scores of kindred languages, with different vocabularies, and phonetic variations, clothed upon the same backbone and skeleton of the Bantu organization, is a wonderful record of human intellect, acting spontaneously and unconsciously.

Here ends our task. Twenty years ago there was a rebellion against the tyranny of the Aryan and Semitic scholars who attempted to cut down all languages to the length and breadth of their method, forgetful of the infinite variety of the then dimly-discerned families and groups of agglutinating languages in Asia. The great problem of the origin of language, however, cannot



be solved, and is not ready for solution, until the secrets of the languages of Africa, Australia and America are revealed, and arranged in such order, that the lessons taught by the study of each of them may be considered with reference to the linguistic phenomena of the whole world, and this work will not be completed in the present generation.

The writer of these lines may not live to see any of these secrets revealed. Africa has become the solace and plaything of his old age, as India and Asia were the joy and interest of his manhood. At the Fifth International Congress of Oriental Scholars, to be held in September of this year at Berlin, he will read a paper in the German language on "Our recent knowledge of the languages of Africa." In the same month he will exhibit at the Third International Geographical Congress of Geographers to be held at Venice, his new Ethnical and Linguistic Map of Africa, specially prepared for him by the celebrated cartographer, Ravenstein, as an embodiment of all existing knowledge. Attention will thus be drawn to the subject, and assist the writer of these lines in his self-imposed task of publishing, next year, a volume on the languages of Africa, exhibiting by the help of language, maps, and bibliographical catalogues, illustrated by a historical narrative, the extent of our knowledge, half-knowledge and ignorance on this great subject.

ROBERT CUST.

LONDON, *July* 1881.



### ART. III.—MORAL CHOLERA.

THE white races, by whom alone the peculiar powers of man as a thinking animal have been developed, have never ceased, from the earliest record of their thoughts, to speculate upon the nature of evil and upon the best way of deliverance from its power. The accounts of the creation contained in *Genesis*, and the similar narratives preserved by the Assyrians, the speculations contained in the book of *Job*, and the oldest records of the Egyptians, all show this. In the 3rd chapter of *Job*, for example, we hear the cry of despair from the ruined patriarch ringing through the clear air of the desert, "For now I should have lain still and been at rest, with kings and counsellors of the earth, or with princes who had gold, who filled their houses with silver; there the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest; there the prisoners rest together, they hear not the voice of the oppressor; the small and the great are there, and the servant is free from his master; wherefore is light given to him that is in misery, and life unto the bitter soul, which long for death, but it cometh not, and dig for it more than for hid treasures, which rejoice exceedingly and are glad when they can find the grave?" The same cry comes to us from the palace of Jerusalem, where the wise king had accumulated the trophies of knowledge and of pleasure, all the sources of human enjoyment, whether physical or intellectual. "For in much wisdom is grief, and he that increaseth knowledge, increaseth sorrow. I said of laughter, it is mad; and of mirth, what doeth it? I looked on all the works that my hands had wrought, and on the labour that I had laboured to do; and behold! all was vanity and vexation of spirit, and no profit under the sun." Sophocles, in one of his most exquisite dramas gives us another monarch, saying that:—

"Not to have been, exceeds all human thought;  
But, having been, to go as quickly back  
As may be to the place from whence we came  
Is far the next best thing"—

Instances might be multiplied: but yet all are but a set of sporadic instances, wherein the thoughts of those simple hearts that we call "the ancients," were in more or less complete harmony with the most complicated experience of us, moderns. Sorrow, as then, still loathes the day; the life that it has thoroughly tainted ceases to be of value. The great Arab Shekh, deprived of sons and daughters, and of all his pastoral wealth and pride of place, feels this exactly as it is felt by the mighty king who has made greatness commonplace, and having exhausted all the springs of



excitement sinks under the paralysis of satiety. *Œdipus* in *Colonus* and *Juvenal* in *Rome* are alike in railing at *Fortune*, for they have trusted to her favour and found it fickle. Yet in all this there is no systematic pessimism. In all the scenes we have glanced at other voices arise; the young and active see the grandeur and the beauty of the life around them, and rejoice in their labours, as their God does in his. It was left to the wretched soil of this weary *India* to show the spectacle of a prince in the bloom of adolescence, surrounded by all that could stimulate the emotions of hope and joy, going forth to take his seat by night under the *pipal* tree at *Gaya*, and there evolve, as a universal cosmic plan, the conception of a general disease whose only cure was *Nirvāna*, "to be blown out like a lamp."\*

Thus understood, not as the cry of disappointment, but as the deliberate exposition of a philosophy for all mankind, Buddhism has hitherto prospered in *Asia*, but in *Asia* alone. Although not now accepted in name by the people of *India*, it long continued to colour both the teaching of the learned and the social system of the common masses. In many of the neighbouring countries it has spread widely, though popular needs have given it a less ascetic character in practice than it receives in books. Buddhism in some shape or other is the most numerous professed of all creeds. Theoretically its main outline is as follows:—

The universe is composed of two great constituents, matter and spirit. Out of these two factors arises the phenomenal *Kosmos*, wherein man frets his brief hour; though that *Kosmos* by no means expresses the true nature of what exists, if any thing exists, as to which the doctors are not agreed. Some maintain that behind it there is a first cause, of which both spirit and matter are emanations. Others, apparently the most characteristic, think that this cause is entirely incapable of demonstration, and too remote (if real) to be deserving of a place in the system. All are agreed, indeed, that we can have, on such a subject, neither positive knowledge, nor even practical conceptions. He who is truly wise, therefore, will confine all the powers of his mind to the study of immediate causes and of the nature and operations of the world around him, vaguely realising an ultimate Monism in which he and all things melt away. The faithful are taught further that what is vulgarly called "evil" is in fact the essence of the universe.†

\* The Buddhist *Nirvāna* is theoretically absorption; because the system was originally Pantheist, and necessarily in pantheism there can be no annihilation. But in practice Pantheism has become atheism, and, therefore, annihilation seems natural.

† Observe the total contrast here with the older pantheism of Europe, as taught by Spinoza. Indeed, Buddhism is not so much pantheism, practically, as atheism, pure and simple.



By a process of slow evolution the spirit of man has gradually emerged from the prison of lower forms. It will not, however, rest content with the amount of progress involved in this, its common condition of being: but will, if blessed, continue its upward path through forms ever higher and more pure. The citizen will become a monk, the monk a hermit, according to the rate at which a capital of spiritual merits has been accumulated. Then comes the dissolution of the physical frame; but even this is not extinction. In thirty-six trans-mundane spheres the work of development proceeds with the fortunately endowed individual; until, after various stages of angelic rapture and beatitude, he ultimately attains the supreme bliss of *Nirvāna*.

The nations of Eastern Asia have grown old without passing through the stage of active manhood. They have not made the most of life, nor have they felt the stimulating influences that come from a stubborn, difficult set of physical conditions. That their languor and decrepitude should be attracted by such a system is not wonderful. The strange thing would be to find it obtain among the active, ambitious races of the West. Europeans have hitherto preferred a more material progress, one more clearly due to their own exertions. It is therefore remarkable that some important parts of this Buddhist's speculations are among the last conclusions of thinkers in France,\* Germany and England.

The theory of the relativity of the phenomenal Kosmos and of the need for more or less neglecting the study of the metaphysical basis forms a main feature of all the modern schools of agnosticism, and has undoubted elements of interest for modern man. Though so long ago anticipated by thinkers whom we are accustomed to regard as barbarians, it seems an advance upon the ordinary forms of Deism, and upon the teleological and optimistic views of Leibnitz and of Paley. It even answers some of the difficulties of Stuart Mill. No longer regarding man as the central figure or the ultimate development to whose purposes creation is subordinate, it meets, or avoids the weariful task of accounting for the origin of evil. It does not concern itself with the endless labour of reconciling the omnipotence of God with the miseries of his highest progeny. It offers to the despondency of which all are, at some time or other, victims, an assurance of that remedy for which the unhappy or the satiated have always longed.

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\* It meets with no general favor in France, but has lately received some support from the acute and sympathetic Renan. Advanced thinkers in

England have adopted its agnostic tendencies, though they have not generally adopted its views of the universality of evil.



Europe is the colonial system of Asia. Descended from the more active and adventurous of the old races, and from their sons, who struggled with the forces of Nature in their new homes, the settlers and the tribes they founded, long continued in a state of fermentation that prevented them from stagnating in the crust of custom, and the bondage of speculative systems. But it must not be forgotten that symptoms of stagnation and arrested progress have sometimes appeared in Europe. The cases of the Greek and Latin churches, and of the national decay of Spain, are sufficient to remind us, that the same causes which have wrecked Asia are ready to repeat the operation in Europe also. The pessimistic tendencies of Buddhism have never been without their Western echoes. Even the sanguine and practical Voltaire gave way to a feeling of this sort when he was roused by the terrible earthquake of Lisbon to publish *Candide*. In the beginning of our century Byron and Shelley gave occasional expression to the cry of despair that had already been raised in the early stages of Goethe's career, afterwards so calm and contented. And in Italy Leopardi (a man of equal genius and unhappiness) had made his own bitter experience of life the basis of a system of despair. According to this melancholy singer life is so bad, that even without suffering it is still, of itself, an evil: there is no condition so sad as not to be capable of becoming worse: fortune is always stronger than we, and she will end by breaking even the firmness of despair. When then will misery end? When every thing ends. The worst moments of all are those passed in pleasure. There never was, and never will be, an existence than which non-existence is not better; as is proved by the fact that no one would willingly go through his past life again. Listen to the following dialogue between a seller of Almanacs and a passer by:—

"A. Buy almanacs, new almanacs, new calendars!

P. Almanacs for next year?

A. Your honour, yes.

P. Will it be happy, think you, this new year?

A. Oh! yes, your honour, I am sure it will.

P. More than the past year?

A. Much sir, very much.

P. Or the preceding?

A. Very much, I hope.

P. Or that before it? Are there no past years

You'd have this next resemble?

A. No sir, none.

P. Pray, tell me now, how many years it is

You have been selling almanacs?

A. Twenty, sir.

P. And which of all the twenty would you choose,

That next year should be like?

A. I cannot say.



- P. What ! cannot you remember any year  
Seemed to you happy ?
- A. No, I cannot, sir.
- P. Yet, on the whole, 'tis a fine thing to live ?
- A. We all know that.
- P. And would you not consent  
To live again the twenty years, or even  
The whole term that has passed since you were born ?
- A. Alas ! Dear Sir, I wish to God I could ?
- P. But, doing this, you would have to undergo  
Its joys, its sorrows, neither less nor more.
- A. Oh ! no, not that !
- P. What life, then, would it be that you would choose ?  
Say mine, say the Grand Duke's ? Do you not think  
That the Grand Duke, or I, to the same question  
Would make the same reply (and truly, too) ?  
' I would not re-commence my bye-gone life ?'
- A. I do.
- P. You'd not begin again, then, either ?
- A. No sir, indeed, I'd not begin again.
- P. What life then would you choose ?
- A. What God would give.  
Without the least condition.
- P. A chance lot  
Of which you knew no more than of next year ?
- A. Exactly.
- P. So should I, and so would all.  
And yet there 's no one living whom, so far,  
Chance has not persecuted and deceived.  
Each thinks the sum of evil has, for him,  
Been more than that of good ; none would be born  
To live again the life that he has led,  
With all its good things and its evil, too.  
The life that is a fine thing is not that  
Life which we know, but that which we do not ;  
Not the life past, but one that is to come—  
Next year, however, chance is to begin  
To treat us kindly, you and me, and all ;  
Next year the happy life is to begin :  
Is it not so ?
- A. Let's hope it is.
- P. Now, which of all your almanacs is the prettiest ?
- A. This one, your honour ; have it for half-a-crown.
- P. Here is the money.
- A. Thank you kindly, sir !  
Buy almanacs ! new almanacs ! new calendars !"

For the knoweldge of this amusing dialogue I was first indebted to a French translator, M. Caro. It does not occur in the ordinary issue of Leopardi's *Poesie*. The dialogue is, however, to be found in the Leipsic Edition of Leopardi's works, p. 274.\*

\* L. was evidently a diseased æmic school" of French poetry. man throughout his entire life. The Schopenhauer and Hartmann have same may be said of A. de Musset, not the same excuse. and what has been called the "an-



But it was not under the sunny skies of Italy, with the monuments of a great past around them, and the dawn of a new national day breaking over their heads, that men were to give an ultimate welcome to the philosophy of despair. The spasmodic pains of disordered livers and baffled poetic ambitions were not sufficient to engender the new birth. It was reserved for Schopenhauer and his successor Von Hartmann to reproduce *Nirvāna* as a systematic object of aspiration to modern Europe; and to offer to the *élite* of modern progress, the consolations that satisfy the dreamers of Ceylon, Burma, and Thibet. The idea has been taken up in Germany with mathematical rigour, and worked into a system that bids fair to take the place of those of Schelling and of Hegel, fallen into decay and disrepute. The world, it appears to these teachers, is the fruit of a union between an unconscious will and the idea on which that will operates. Though unconscious, this will (otherwise force) is insatiably tenacious and even cunning; in the pursuit of its malignant ends it leads us many a dance. Pleasure, profit, the love of woman (that creature with long hair and short views) all these are among the baits by which this truly satanic power tries to lure man away from his true destiny—annihilation. But a time of awakening arrives. Thrown into despair by the incurable badness of his environments, roused to rebellion by the inexorable irony of fate, man turns like the trodden worm. He perceives that in his own will he has been cherishing a perfidious accomplice of the enemy; and that his only chance of happiness is to mortify his desires, retire from the baffling struggle, and bear a part with all his strength in the final campaign. An Armageddon in which an annihilated universe is to achieve a sinister victory, and bury in its own ruins the traces of its unrelenting but baffled foe—such is the promised conclusion of this singular Apocalypse.

A strict and consistent disciple of this school would, one would suppose, reserve to himself the right of ending his own particular share of misery. But suicide is not allowed him, for it is a cowardly desertion from the ranks, a withdrawal of some of the force needed to work out the general programme of universal extinction. At least, however, he will never marry; and in the home of Nihilism things are carried to that extreme of logic; for there is a Russian sect\* which contributes to the cause by subjecting its male members to a surgical operation by which they are delivered from all risk of being cajoled by the Unconscious into sharing its nefarious designs. Schopenhauer, too, lived to the ripe age of seventy-two, in a state of armed neutrality towards the sex of whom Goethe said that they were as much the better part of mankind as night was of the twenty-four hours. We are bound,

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\* The *Skopskys*.



however, to add that Herr von Hartmann has yielded to the wiles of the enemy in this respect, and has deprived himself of the blessed privilege of personally furthering the advent of that happy time when the fires of evil shall cease for lack of fuel. The modern apostle of *Nirvána* has, we are informed on the best authority, a wife and family, of whom he may be ashamed as a philosopher, but is proud as a man.

Schopenhauer and Hartmann are too remarkable and too influential to be tossed aside with mere *badinage*. As the latter says, "Pessimism has been reviled and laughed at, but it has never been refuted." As a metaphysico-physical explanation of the world, it is worth as much as another. All attempts to go beyond the *flammantia mœnia mundi*, and define the unknowable, must remain unrefuted. That this particular explanation has its weak points may be seen by any one who examines it without prejudice, though a further examination of the same kind may bring out some strong points also. It is the application to daily practice of a theory which has no peculiar practical advantages that calls for protest. Pessimism is the part of Buddhism that seeks to concern itself with practice, but it has no merits that are not capable of being dissociated from the Buddhistic scheme and used, as we have seen them used, by teachers who have taken such different views of the universe as Epictetus and St. Paul. That we should mortify our corrupt affections and live for the whole rather than for ourselves, is as much a part of evangelical Christianity as it is of enlightened Stoicism. But to base such a principle of ethics on the assumption that extinction is beatitude seems a different matter. It is the system which commends itself to nations and to individuals who are approaching a state of senility without having passed through a virile period of healthy activity. It offers a solution acceptable to the sense of failure and of imbecility, a consolation, such as that state of feeling alone would appreciate. It has been called a philosophy of despair: it might with equal propriety be entitled the aspiration of decrepitude. It is not the attitude of the tired warrior who "wraps the drapery of his couch around him and lies down to pleasant dreams;" it is rather the querulous anxiety of a feeble old invalid who wants to have all the lights in the house extinguished, because the time approaches when she has to take her sleeping draught.\*

Pessimism, then, may be true as an ultimate proposition, much as disease and death are true for those who have never known them by experience. That does not prevent it, however, from being a mortal malady, nor prevent its teachers from being quacks

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\* Readers of Lecky will call to mind suicide under the Roman Emperors. his remarks on the prevalence of



when they pretend to be prescribing a cure while only describing a disorder.

Among other errors, we may note the following: It is a manifest assumption on the part of Schopenhauer to suppose that phenomena are purely subjective, and do not spring out of any real existence. It is equally an assumption to lay down that will is unconscious, or identical with force. Force (in the physical sense) must have had an origin. It is just as fair to assume that this origin was will, and that this will is conscious and the source of conscious will in man. If any one chooses to make an assumption, in a region beyond the verifying faculty, one assumption is surely as good as another.

Further, it is an assumption, for which no satisfactory foundation can be shown, that enjoyment is not positive, but a mere suspension of sorrow, as cold is of heat.

In seeking to prove the unconscious nature of the will, Hartmann has undoubtedly improved upon his original. He has also made some interesting references to animal instincts, which seem to him to indicate how this force may act wholly independent of consciousness or cerebral action. But all depends upon the definition: if by "instinct" we understand only the inherited impulses as distinguished from "reason," which is moved by acquired experience, how do we know that instinct is not the slowly formed accumulation of the experience of ancestors conferred on organised beings by virtue of heredity?

Again, Hartmann attempts to account for the origin of consciousness by suggesting that it may be produced by the simple action of organised matter on unconscious will. But that action takes place in the case of idiots and infants without producing consciousness. Evidently, the explanation is insufficient.

In all this it is probable that the chief source of error is the neglect of a very patent truth: namely, that a physical accompaniment is not the final cause of the spiritual fact that it accompanies. Hartmann has to confess this (see his *Philosophy of the Unconscious*, p. 403), and it has been well brought out by Herbert Spencer and Fiske.

And this brings us to the subject of religion and morality: which, though perhaps not necessarily connected, are nevertheless traceable to the same source. The sense of duty to God and to one's neighbour, without which it is not clear how society is to be maintained, are both instincts traceable to inherited experience. Millions of our forefathers who have thought and suffered, have bequeathed to us the traces of their sufferings and their thoughts, woven into the very texture of our nervous systems. One instinct teaches us awe of the Unknown—not Unconscious—Will, of



which we feel our own wills to be an emanation. The other prompts us to exert ourselves, not for annihilation, general or individual, but for fulness of integration and growth.

As Voltaire, after dabbling in his petulant way with pessimism, was forced to conclude, "*Il faut cultiver notre jardin.*" The object of life is--life :—

" 'Tis life of which our veins are scant—  
Life—and not death, for which we pant,  
More life, and fuller, that we want."

In striving after this fulness of life, for ourselves as individuals as well as for the society of which we are members, we find the best answer to the doctrine of the Neo-Buddhists as applied to practice.

It is not the less worthy of enquiry, how such a system came to find favour in modern Europe, and what future is likely to await it. Pessimism, like the *Cholera Morbus*, is an Asiatic disease, and both took root in Europe at about the same time. The mental malady is as likely to be real and mischievous as the bodily epidemic, though both one and the other seem to require remedy rather than propagation. Pessimism is the organisation of a morbid indolence to which man is too prone by nature. In moments of abasement the bravest may be disposed to think that effort is such an evil, that to cease from one would be to cause cessation of the other. Those who hear this expressed recognise a passing derangement: probably the sufferer may do the same. But unhappily he may not, and may be carried away by the impulse before it has time to wear itself out: in which case he may call his malady "life," and perhaps find the remedy in his own hand. Still the common sense, so despised as "Philistinism," will recognise disease. *Securus judicat orbis*: men know who have been their benefactors: the world judges Cæsar a greater man than Cato, and from that judgment one sees no appeal.

It has been reserved for the Germany of the Post-Napoleonic epoch; tired of metaphysics that ended in no practical result; bewildered by the internecine strife of Positivism and Ultramontanism; gravid with the embryos of 1866 and 1870, for whose birth she had yet made no conscious preparation; despairing of liberal institutions; and losing her skill in literature and art; to mature this malady into an endemic, and mistake its diagnosis for a universal panacea.\*

With the dawn of a happier day, the disappearance of the monster may be hoped for. It is of no use to argue that life is not a hard struggle, and repose not a thing to be thought of as an ultimate reward. So far back as the beginning of the

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\* *Vide final note.*



century an officer in the old Swiss guard of France, escaping from the deluge of the Revolution and surveying the chaos that called out the despondency of Obermann, put the matter very well in the simple language of his time:—

By the deep grave's unechoing brink  
 We mortals shuddering stand;  
 Where, with a sable cloud, it hides  
 The undiscovered land.  
 The music of the nightingale  
 We cannot hear above,  
 Only upon the mossy mound  
 Fall faded flowers of love.  
 There, brides bereaved are wringing  
 Their hands in idle round;  
 There, orphans' wailings fail to pierce  
 The inexorable ground—  
 Ah! yet 'tis here alone we find  
 The peace we love the best;  
 Through this dark door alone we win  
 Our everlasting rest.  
 The helpless heart that, in the world,  
 So many tempests bore  
 Can only know its true repose  
 Here, when it beats no more.

So wrote Von Salis, lending a colour to the doctrine of *Nirvāna* in his artless lay. But when we turn his pages we find that action was in his view the only allowable title to the boon:—

Friends! why should womanly tears be so flowing  
 Over the cheek that life's hue made so brave?  
 What can such mood be on manhood bestowing,  
 Would you, despondently, hasten the grave?  
 Much that is nobler for task has been sent you,  
 Much that the blank of expectancy hath,  
 Duty accomplished alone will content you,  
 Rest overshadows the end of the path.

Labour! the wise man his labour pursuing,  
 Glory and deathlessness wait on his way;  
 Traces of brightness remain from well-doing,  
 Gilding his short and ephemeral day—  
 Sowing joy's seed in the hearts that are round us,  
 Doing the best that man can do to man,  
 Fills up the rapture that Nature has found us,  
 Clears off the clouds our horizon that span.  
 Courage! our griefs, once by courage confounded  
 Freshen the soul as the rain does the fields,  
 Graves, by the funeral cypress surrounded.  
 Soon get the hue the Forget-me-not yields.  
 Friends! we must joy; 'tis my ultimate sentence;  
 Joy is the Father's supremest command,  
 Joy never gave to the righteous repentance,  
 Smiling through roses when death is at hand."



Schiller, too, has a similar thought :—

On the sunny heights of credence  
Joy's bright banner loves to wave,  
In the Seraph's choir precedence  
Greets us through the open grave."

If these sane and serene spirits could thus connect joy and death in the land of *Werther* and in the days of Jena, what may not be hoped from Germans who have seen the triumph of their renewed Empire as it received the homage of Europe? Already we find, among the Pessimists themselves, some symptoms of a return to sanity. They admit that a misguided world has hitherto, on the whole, considered existence worth having, and effort a virtue rather than a mere curse. This, for the present, they are disposed to attribute to the artifices of "The Unconscious," who lures us on, by false pretences, and for purposes of its own, say they; but the robust sense of prosperous men will regret the explanation, and see in it pure mythology. What! it will be asked, do you think that you can make out a conspiracy of all that is good and fair to defraud the best and last breed of Nature? Can she be so malicious a mother as to betray her offspring in exact proportion to the degree of moral and intellectual elevation that offspring may have reached? Can it be, merely because these new Buddhists say so, that the fountain of suns and of systems, the source of the moral mystery hidden in the microcosmic form of man, is nothing but an overgrown and universal hoax?

An attempt, honest if incomplete, should be made to describe this *mal du siècle* in its true colours, and to suggest its cure. Hartmann, its latest considerable supporter, should be shown to have got into his present position by reasoning with mathematical accuracy upon arbitrary, not to say crazy, premises. He has made considerable advance upon his master; being still young, he may go further; yet so far he is inclined to blame Schopenhauer, not for his Pessimism, but for the quietism which he thinks not a necessary consequence. His own present standpoint is that he has absorbed into Schopenhauer's pessimism the optimism of Leibnitz. The union so effected he would set forth in the following formula :—

"This is the best of all possible worlds but—no world at all would be better."

But see the absurdity of supposing that non-existence can be the goal and purpose of existence! It is like Carlyle who taught that silence was the ultimate object of speech (and who, if all is to be believed, often made it so). Did any sane thinker ever hold such a doctrine upon any other subject?



What the world wants is a philosophy, not of Pessimism, nor yet of Optimism, but one of making the best of what is: of subordination of self to the progress, not the annihilation, of the whole. In a world of relative phenomena we must take consciousness as a *datum* and renounce the study of what is beyond, which can never be more than speculation and idle guessing. As for *Nirvāna*, it may be a dream for Asiatics, but never the goal of active effort among civilised mankind. And in the meanwhile we have, if we wish it, the daily bread sufficing for our support: only we must take the trouble to earn it, and to take it up. When Goethe had outlived Wertherism, and matured into his acknowledged grandeur, he once let fall this little song;—

“Wilt thou ever roam for treasure?

Look! for treasure still lies near;

Only learn to seize thy pleasure,

Thou wilt find thy pleasure near.”

To those who find this too *terre à terre* for the office of philosophy we may safely reply, that since Bacon's time that office has, in many minds, assumed a very practical—if you please, a very humble—character. No longer soaring in “the infinite azure” of mysticism and metaphysics, it has deigned to visit the dwellings of the citizens, the senate-house, the forum and the school. To many of us moderns, if philosophy cannot suggest a basis of moral obligation, she need not talk at all. And even so she must speak distinctly, and must show good credentials. After the comparative failure of Schelling and Hegel, the German thinkers ran to the opposite extreme; and taking their stand upon Nature, found the law of duty to be “Content yourself with the world that you have.” Not less cosmical, of course, was the scheme of the Pessimists, who, finding the natural state of things unworthy of approbation, pronounced the formula: “Annihilate the world that you have.” The poets, as a rule sympathetic men, invite us to seek consolation for real sorrows in an ideal world of joy; “Substitute for the world that you have, an imaginary world which shall be the home of the mind.”

But the problem is not to be so solved. The world can neither be borne with, annihilated, or escaped from: least of all the second. Thus, to reconcile the different precepts in a common measure of truth, we have still need of another formula. It has been thus stated by a French writer: “Labour to better the world that you have in conformity with its ascertained laws, by the ideal your best efforts can make, possibly the chief constituent of its own realisation” (Fouilleé. *Rev. des d. Mondes*, 1st March 1881). And here, no doubt, the spirit of poetry will find its work,



and be a valuable ally. In what has been said above of the groundlessness of Pessimism as a basis of practical philosophy, the argument has been rather of an empiric than of a purely scientific kind: for the writer has no claim to figure as a scientific or metaphysical thinker. And the humble comments that he has permitted himself are not so much addressed to the system of Hartmann as to that of Schopenhauer, who strikes one as an evidently inferior man. It has been even admitted that, as an ultimate theory of the universe, Hartmann's system is as likely to be true as any other, in a sphere where nothing can be ever verified.

The philosopher to whom we owe it is a man of multifold experience and reading; and, excepting for a certain roughness of style, resulting probably from early barrack-training and habits, his exposition is clear and agreeable. His first great work the *Philosophy of the Unconscious*, appeared about 1869, and went through numerous editions. He does not there contend, like Leopardi and Schopenhauer, that there is no such thing as positive enjoyment: but he declares that it is only by a profound illusion that happiness can be regarded as an aim of aspiration or exertion. In subsequent publications (see especially a volume of miscellaneous essays, and one among them, "Is Pessimism Unconsoling?") he attempted to give a moral application to his modified theory. In the course of the "culture-fight," which began after Sadowa, and which still goes on in North Germany he took up its relation to religion; and it is here, above all, that the most strenuous attempt has been made to revive the Buddhism of Asia and apply it to the wants of modern civilised society.

With great acuteness and well digested information, H. v. Hartmann sketches the "religion of the future," something in the spirit of Feuerbach; he assumes that all religious schemes, corresponding to, and depending for success upon, some human want, must contain some doctrine or doctrines of, at least, relative truth. He therefore makes a sort of eclectic *synthesis* of what he considers the distinctive truth of each great religious system, and concludes that such a synthesis must suggest what the future religious and ethical system of thinking man will be. As result he conceives what he calls a "Panmonotheism," founded on a fusion of the religious development of India with that of the Jews and Christians which shall join the advantages of both tendencies, with an elimination of their errors.

He does not go much into details. But the following may be taken as the chief reasons for his conclusion. All religion arises, he thinks, in astonishment and fear; and pessimistic views are



of its essence. Without pessimism there can be no real religion, but only cant, custom, and such like. Only two conceptions of God are possible to the awe-struck heart: either God must be thought of as external, what Spinoza calls "transcendant," or He must be thought of as having the world as a subjective manifestation, not outside himself, but emanating, which he describes as "immanent." The early Semitic races peopled the air with their divine representatives; and Jehovah, the tribal God of the Hebrews, having, by a selection of the fittest, established himself in the minds of the best men of the place and time, stood forth as the one "transcendant" Lord of Jews, Christians and Musalmans.

In the meanwhile the Asiatic Aryans, whose earliest needs turned their attention to the propitiation of the powers of Nature, developed among their better-thinkers, the idea of the "immanent" force recognised by pantheistic Hindus until atrophied by the Buddhist reform into something like atheism.

Passing by many objections which will occur to one or another, let us note the unverifiable nature of the two postulates on which all this is founded. Even as we have seen that, besides and between the extremes of Optimism and Pessimism, there lies a practical mean which partakes of both, and yet is neither, so it seems clear, there is a medium between the watch-making God of Paley, and the impalpable force of the Pantheists. But let even that pass; what of the assertion that Pessimism is of the essence of religion and that Optimism is necessarily pagan? Even if this were so, it does not seem right that the system adopted by the great men of Greece and Rome for some 600 years should not be as much represented in our synthesis as that of the Troglodytes of Behár. But let even that pass: why is Optimism necessarily pagan? From the time when Job was answered out of the whirlwind down to our own times, there is this notable uninterrupted denial of such a position in the constant action of poetry. Was David a Pessimist? read the 104th Psalm:

"Bless the Lord, O my soul! O Lord my God, Thou art very great, Thou art clothed with honour and majesty.....O Lord how manifold are Thy works! in wisdom hast Thou made them all.....The glory of the Lord shall endure for ever: the Lord shall rejoice in his works." Was Wordsworth an infidel when he wrote the *Lines* of June 13th, 1798, near Tintern Abbey? Take for example:—

"I have felt

A presence that disturbs me with the joy  
Of elevated thoughts: a sense sublime  
Of something far more deeply interfused,  
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns—



And the round ocean, and the living air,  
 And the blue sky ; and in the mind of man ;  
 A motion and a spirit that impels  
 All thinking things, all objects of all thought ;  
 And rolls through all things—

Therefore I am still,  
 A lover of the meadows and the woods  
 And mountains ; of all the mighty world  
 Of eye and ear ;--both what they half create  
 And what perceive ; well pleased to recognise  
 In nature and the language of the sense  
 The anchor of my purest thoughts, the muse,  
 The guide, the guardian of my heart, the soul  
 Of all my moral being."

This may be Pantheism ; it is clearly not Pessimism or Paganism. The poets are generally full of a like spirit ; and it is this very character and condition of the poetic method and office that make them so dear to the overwrought heart of man. Not the poetry of Pessimism and satiety, still less the mere music of sense and passion. Goethe has said (*Dicht-u-Wahr*, III., Bk. II) that "the essentially deep and fundamental agency, the truly permanent and improving, is that which remains over of the poet when we have him represented in prose." That is no doubt a profound truth, which by no means cancels the other truth asserted in the same passage, that "rhythm and rhyme are to be equally honoured, being the means by which poetry first becomes poetry." The master calls our minds to see that substance as well as form is needed, so that poetry may be ultimately profitable to its perfect work ; and we may claim a more universal weight of testimony in support of this than any historical experience of the religious character of Pessimism. Poetry, "conforming," as Bacon said, "the shows of things to the desires of the mind," is the true consoler of the more sensitive and feeling of the race. Young people may be led away by form and workmanship, which are highly important, but not the actual blessing of the muse. Poetry is vain, at the last, unless she makes the heart in love with life. Not with its own poor life, which may be dull, defeated, dying : but with the life streaming from a divine source which is neither one with the world, nor external to the world, but of which, let me say of Whom, the world is, for us, the only manifestation and revelation.

Thus comforted we shall not learn despondency or quietism from the ruins of Asiatic society, or seek comfort in its narcotic dreams. Nor shall we seek in religion a guide to conduct, so much as a factor for character. A man without religion is better than a Buddhist, though he is to be pitied also, as much as one colour-blind or without an ear for music.



The other line, if Hartmann can get his countrymen to follow it, can be started only by desperate conditions, as it can only land a race who adopt it in ultimate apathy and decay. Neither will they be saved by taking with them some slender *viaticum* snatched from Christianity and Semitic monotheism. It will not be in the pretended synthesis of incompatible conjectures that the truth will be found; but in a cordial recognition of Nature as our mother, whose bosom is our resting place, as it is the fountain of our life.

Theology is a doubtful remedy for the ills of life; it has engendered monasticism, enforced celibacy, and the persecution of opinion. But Pessimism is only theology turned inside out, and its results promise to be almost the same.

It only remains to add that this strange moral malady shows no symptoms of reappearing in its native country; and the fact is of good omen to those who have undertaken the charge of modern Indian thought. The masses, in their dull and hopeless circumstances, do not seem to value life highly, but they are certainly not under the influence of any formal philosophy. The great body of the native *bourgeoisie* live on in contented conventionalism, pursuing the practical ends of existence, without time or capacity for thought; only in old age do they seem to turn to devotion, and then in the mechanical routine of almsgiving and sacrifice, of going on pilgrimage, and of dying on the bank of a sacred stream. Among the classes influenced by the universities, there are Vedantists, Theists, Agnostics, but of Pantheists or of Pessimists we do not hear.

It seems then that the conditions requisite to make this disease epidemic are peculiar to a country where the leaders of society are conscious of arrested social development or of social decay. It is not found systematised and diffused among savage tribes or among communities stirring with active aspiration and busied in remunerative work. It requires, amongst other factors, a sense of failure brooding over an apparently stagnant medium; and its general and permanent adoption indicates a moral atrophy arising out of a half-contented impotence, which need not have ended in despair if it had not begun by being over confident.

H. G. KEENE.

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N.B.—To the causes of German national despondency mentioned in the text, might perhaps have been added the military reforms of Stein and Hardenberg. Their recent results have been so startling, that the time may be hardly ripe for a sound estimate of their essential character. But it may be safely said that the



substitution of universal soldiering for the system of professional armies can never be a step in the direction of social progress, but the reverse always. And it causes so many losses and sufferings that it is probably fair to count it among the causes of a morbid disposition towards pessimism. France has now imitated her rival; and, indeed, it seems hard to say where the movement is to stop. But it is retrogressive for all that. It has not yet had time to make the French unhappy; indeed, it may never do so. Not only is their national liveliness opposed to Pessimism, but the fact that the land in France is divided among five million families, naturally leaves a larger number of men disposable for military employ than a more complicated social economy can ever do. It may therefore do less harm to the moral health of the community, in the case of the agricultural nation, with its stationary population, than to that of a country where commerce and manufactures combine, with a constant flow of emigration, to keep up the remuneration of free labour at home and abroad.

H. G. K.



#### ART. IV—HOW THE PORTUGUESE OBTAINED A FOOTING IN THE ISLAND OF DIU.

How the Portuguese obtained a footing in the Island of Diu; slew Bahádur Sháh the Sultán of Guzerat; took possession of the town; were besieged by the Guzeratis, and also by Suleymán Pasha with a Turkish fleet, which, after raising the siege, departed again to the Red Sea.

MOSLEM authors allude very briefly, and several of them also incorrectly, to the events now to be described in some detail, and especially to the circumstances connected with the death of Bahádur Sháh; a tragic accident which ought to have engaged their attention more than it appears to have done. Abul Fadl in his Akbar-namah, gives a very short account of it; Ferishta who devotes scarcely a page to it, confesses at the end of his narrative that the "Tarykh-i Bahádur Sháhy" from which he had obtained his information, not having enjoyed the benefit of revision, contains many errors and cannot be trusted. The author of the "Mirat Eskandary" is of the same opinion, but gives a somewhat better, although also only a brief, narrative of the end of the Sultán Bahádur Sháh. The "Asia Portuguesa," written in Spanish, by Manuel de Faria i Sousa (quoted also by Briggs in his "History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India," vol. IV. p. 135-138,) contains a more circumstantial account; but that which occurs in De Barros (*Decada quarta, parte segunda, Liv. VII., Cap. IV. et seq.*) although substantially the same with the preceding, embraces all the other events to be narrated in this paper as well, and will serve as our guide, although some allowance must be made for the bias of an author who was describing the prowess of his own countrymen.

The Portuguese had much trouble in obtaining a footing in the Island of Diu, situated very near the coast, in the Gulf of Cambay, and in 1531 even a fleet commanded by the celebrated Viceroy Nuno da Cunha had been repulsed from it.

Preliminary remarks. Times, however, soon changed, and what could not be effected by force, overtures of amity accomplished. Bahádur Sháh, being much distressed by the attacks of the Moghuls under the Emperor Humayún, and having lost a portion of his dominions, bethought himself of invoking the aid of the Portuguese and allowing them to construct a factory on the Island of Diu in order to enlist their aid against the Moghuls, with the intention, however, of ejecting them after recovering his power.



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In view of the amicable overtures just mentioned, Bahádur Sháh, sent a letter to Martim Affonso de Sousa, the commandant of Chaul, a Portuguese fort about thirty miles south-east of Bombay, inviting him to come forthwith to Diu in order to treat with him on a subject of great importance to the king of Portugal, and also despatched a similar invitation to the Viceroy, Nuno da Cunha. To show his sincerity, Bahádur Sháh sent, with the envoy who bore these letters, Diogo de Mesquita, Lopo Fernandes Pinto, and Diogo Mendes, with some other Portuguese, all of whom had been his prisoners in Champánr. On the receipt of the letter, Martim Affonso sailed with three catures (small armed vessels) and sixty men, but was not a little surprised to meet, in the vicinity of Diu, Simão Ferreira, who had been sent by the Viceroy on the same business, and had not touched at Chaul. When both arrived in Diu, the Sultán was much pleased to see them, informed them of his affairs, and asked about the Viceroy. He required aid, he said, to defend himself against his enemies, and the most important would be the company of Martim Affonso, in whose valour he had perfect confidence, in return for which he would allow the Viceroy to build a fort in Diu; but as the latter was further off at Goa, he had called Martim Affonso to aid him, if the Moghuls should attack him, as well as to consent on his part to the construction of a fort, and to the drawing up of a treaty of peace. As Simão Ferreira had brought full powers from the

Treaty between the  
King of Portugal and  
Bahádur Sháh.

Viceroy to conclude a treaty, the Sultán stated that the fort might face either the land or the sea, and be of any size, and on any spot that might be selected. The text of the treaty was as follows:—

"The King of Cambay agrees to give a site to the King of Portugal in the Island of Diu, that the Viceroy may build a fort wherever he likes on the side of the bulwarks of the sea, or of the land, of any size whatever. He also considers it proper to confirm the donation which he has made to him of Bassein, with its lands, and rents, as they have contracted.

"On condition that all the ships from Mekka, which were, in virtue of the previous treaty of peace, obliged to sail to Bassein, shall, as formerly, be allowed to sail to Diu without any impediment whatever. If, however, a ship desires to sail to Bassein of its own accord, it may do so, and ships of other parts may come and go where they like; all, however, must navigate with passports.

"That the horses from Ormuz, and from Arabia, which according to the preceding treaty, were obliged to go to Bassein, shall



come to Diu and pay duties to the King of Portugal according to the custom of Goa, without the king purchasing them, and their owners shall be allowed to take them where they choose; but the horses taken from the Gulf to the interior of the country shall pay no duty whatever.

"Another condition is, that the King of Portugal shall levy in Diu no duties nor rents, except in the said fort and bulwarks; all the duties, rents, and jurisdiction of the inhabitants of the land pertaining to the Sultán Bahádur.

"Moreover, neither the King of Portugal, nor his Viceroy, shall, by his command, make war, or cause damage in the Straits of the Red Sea, nor in the localities of Arabia, nor shall any prizes be taken, and all shall navigate in security. Should, however, a fleet of Rumys, or Turks, be in the Straits, it may be attacked and destroyed.

"The King of Portugal and Sultán Bahádur shall be friends of each other's friends, and foes of each other's foes, and shall aid each other by sea and by land with all their forces, when invited to do so.

The last point was, that, if any person, owing money or property to the King of Portugal, should pass into the territories of the Sultán Bahádur, he was to cause him to be surrendered, and the Viceroy was to do the same, if any one indebted to the Sultán Bahádur should pass over to the Portuguese.

After drawing up this treaty, which had been signed by the Sultán, Martim Affonso sent it to the Viceroy by Diogo Mesquita, whom an ambassador of the Sultán also accompanied with a letter.

Nuno da Cunhá had also received an offer of alliance on the part of the Mogul Emperor, Humayún who made him large promises,

but he considered it better to accept that of Sultán Bahádur, who was in possession of Diu; and sailed to that island, which he reached in October 1535. At the

entrance of the harbour he was received by Nina Rao,\* the commander of Diu, a relative of the Sultán, and by many nobles, who congratulated him on his arrival. After disembarking he was taken to the Sultán, whom he found reclining on a couch which had no ornaments, except golden legs, in an apartment without any other furniture whatever. The Sultán himself wore a simple dress of white cotton cloth, and had near him ten or twelve gentlemen, one of whom, apparently seventy years old, and a brother of the Emperor of Delhi, sat on the carpeted floor near the couch with another man of royal blood, whilst the

\* This name ought probably to be spelt *Nana*, a well known contraction of *Narayan*.



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rest stood, because in the presence of the Sultán of Guzerat only kings and sons of kings might sit. When the Viceroy entered with the forty nobles he had brought with him, he bowed to the Sultán, as soon as he perceived him, and the nobles likewise. This courtesy was acknowledged by the Sultán with a look expressive of pleasure. After a brief conversation on general topics, Nuno da Cunha took leave of the king, and established his quarters on the sea-bulwark, which had been gaily decked and adorned with the flag of Portugal. In further interviews with the Sultán he requested the Viceroy to send one of his captains to take from the Moguls a fort on the river Indus, the name of which was Varivene; and for this purpose the Viceroy at once despatched Vasco Pires de Sampayo with twelve fustas (pinaces), and some brigantines, manned by five hundred Portuguese. The Sultán also desired that the city of Broach might be defended against the Moguls, and Dom Gonzals Continho was sent there with another flotilla.

As soon as Nuno da Cunha had obtained the bulwark and the site on which the fort was to be built, he hastened to collect the materials necessary for the purpose, which detained him till beyond the middle of November. On the 20th of that month, which was a Sunday, he assisted, with all the captains, nobles, and the majority of the people, at the celebration of the mass, after which he turned the first sod for the digging of the foundations, which were carried on with such speed, that on the 21st December, the festival of St. Thomas, the Patron of India, Nuno da Cunha laid the first stone of the fortress, under which he placed some gold coins, the nobles adding many more to please the Viceroy. Great festivities took place, with much noise of artillery, trumpets, kettle-drums and bag-pipes. The Sultán, to manifest his pleasure and to show that the work was going on with his consent, at once despatched fifteen thousand gold pardãos to Nuno da Cunha, as a present for the labourers, many of whom he had himself sent. The nobles, too, worked like the rest of the people, and were all divided into squads or messes, the captains of which vied with each other who should provide the best food in his mess. In this manner the number of men was augmented and the work expedited. A bulwark of which Garcia de Sá was in charge—named afterwards the rampart of Sant-Iago—advanced more than any others, because he constructed the whole of it, and spent much money. The work was pushed on with so much zeal, that the fort was completed in the month of February 1536, and provided with artillery and a garrison of nine hundred Portuguese, over whom Nuno da Cunha appointed Manuel de Sousa captain.



As the Sultán had probably supposed that the Portuguese would be contented with a factory, he must have been not a little surprised to find that in an incredibly short time

The Sultán regrets having allowed the fort to be built; Nuno has an interview with him and departs for Goa.

they had raised a fort and garrisoned it. Not being able to remove it, he bethought himself of masking it, by erecting a wall between it and the town, with the intention

of adding ramparts after the departure of Nuno da Cunha, from which he might, in case of need, attack and take the fort. He accordingly sent Nina Rao, the captain of Diu, to the Viceroy, to inform him about the projected wall. Nuno da Cunha held a council with his captains, which decided that Fernão Rodrigues de Castello-branco should be sent to the Sultán with a message, that, as the Portuguese were in possession of the fort and he of the town, there would be no necessity for a wall of partition. The Sultán replied that he meant to erect the wall in order to prevent scandals between his people and the Portuguese, without breaking the friendship existing between him and the King of Portugal. Thus, messages passed to and fro, till the Sultán at last informed the Viceroy, that he had not by the treaty of peace become a subject of the Portuguese, but had merely allowed them to build a fort, and they now meant to hinder him from erecting a wall on his own land. Thereupon Fernão Rodrigues was ordered by the Viceroy to inform him that he laboured under a mistake if he imagined Nuno da Cunha would consent to the building of the wall. The Sultán was so displeased with this curt reply that he would at once have wreaked his anger on the Viceroy, had he been able; but as his power had become very limited and the Moguls were marching on Cambay, he feigned indifference, and waited for an opportunity to take the fort.

Not many days after this little misunderstanding, Nina Rao again conveyed a friendly request of the Sultán to the Viceroy, to give him the Portuguese troops he had promised to march against the Moguls; but Nuno da Cunha excused himself on the ground that it was now winter, and that he would see what could be done in the spring, whereas in reality he feared that the troops might be treacherously destroyed. The Sultán complained that the Viceroy was unwilling to fulfil his promise, but hinted that he would have his remedy. Nina Rao also had hinted that the Sultán intended sailing to Mekka for the purpose of invoking the aid of the Turks; and, a council having been assembled by Nuno da Cunha, the conclusion was arrived at that the intention of the Sultán might be really such, and that a personal interview with him ought to be arranged. Both parties sailed to the point



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of Diu, the Viceroy in a barge, accompanied by Martim Affonso de Sousa, Manoel de Sousa, D. Gonzalo Continho, Fernão Rodrigues de Castello-branco and João da Costa, secretary to the Viceroy, whilst the Sultán arrived in another with four or five of his courtiers.

When the two barges met, Nuno da Cunhá entered that of the Sultán, and both retired to the poop, leaving the nobles and courtiers beneath. There the Sultán reproached the Viceroy with not understanding the agreement as *he* did, and the Viceroy, being, or feigning to be sick, requested the Sultán to allow Fernão Rodrigues, who understood the matter well, to reply for him. This noble explained that his Majesty had not understood the agreement, and informed him that the fort which he had given permission to build, was but an imperfect structure, different from other—real—forts; moreover, that the gifts granted by sovereigns ought to be unconditional, liberal, and not such as would bring neither honor to those who bestowed, nor advantage to those who received them. The fort would be as profitable to his Majesty as to the Portuguese, who were there only to serve him and to die for him if need be. The troops for which his Majesty asked, if they were now to be given, would be of no use, because it was the winter season, in which no campaign might be undertaken, but in the spring, when the troops could be of use, as many as he might require would be given; this the Viceroy would do for his Majesty even if no agreement whatever had been made.

The above reason and several others appeared to satisfy the Sultán, and he returned to the town and was quite reconciled to Nuno da Cunhá, who, having made all necessary arrangements, went to the Sultán to take leave before he departed for Goa. He informed him with due compliments that he had left Manoel de Sousa with a garrison and ammunition, more for the purpose of serving his Majesty than to guard the fort; and that at any time he would be ready to aid the Sultán with the whole power of the Portuguese estate of India. The Viceroy also expressed his pleasure that his Majesty had again recovered a portion of his dominions, hoping that the favour he had conferred upon the King of Portugal by granting a site and permission to build the fort, would become a source of greater security to Diu and tranquillity to his possessions. After making these offers and remarks, with others suitable to the occasion, the Sultán and the Viceroy parted very great friends. Nina Rao, the uncle of the Sultán and captain of Diu, apprehending that the Sultán might some day compass his death, as he had done that of many others, requested the Viceroy, Nuno da Cunhá, with much secrecy to give orders to Manoel de Sousa to admit him, with his family,



into the fort, in case of necessity, because he dreaded the inconstancy of the Sultán. The Viceroy, delighted to enjoy the confidence of so high an officer, complied most willingly with his request, and recommended him to the care of Manoel de Sousa.

After having arranged all these matters, Nuno da Cunha, on the 20th March 1536, sailed from Diu for Bassein, where he arrived with his whole flotilla ; and, having inspected the palisades erected there, by the advice of Antonio Galvão, he praised him much, and, to do him honor, ordered him to turn the first sod and lay the first stone of the fort, and, leaving Garcia de Sá to finish the work, departed for Goa, where he was received with much joy, since he had in one trip augmented the estate of India by the construction of two such important forts as Diu and Bassein.

After some months had elapsed, reports were from time to time brought to Nuno da Cunha that the Sultán of Guzerat, or of Cambay, as the Portuguese preferred to call him, was making earnest preparations to take the fort of Diu ; and, whilst Nuno da Cunha was preparing to sail there himself, in order to ascertain the true state of affairs, an embassy arrived in Goa from the Sultán, headed by Mir Muhammad, a man of great authority, to whom the Sultán confided his most secret intentions, and who was aware of the treason he meditated. With him came also Shákú, who had already been sent before with another embassy to the Viceroy. This embassy was received with much honor, and a Persian, Khájah Pirkuli by name, a man much honored by Nuno da Cunha, and known as a loyal friend of the Portuguese, was appointed to keep it company. The substance of the business on which the embassy had come, was this—The Sultán desired to inform the Viceroy, that, as he had a long journey before him, and did not know when he might return, he was anxious to communicate certain matters to him concerning the security of his possessions, and therefore politely requested Nuno da Cunha to pay him a visit as soon as possible.

Having received this information, Nuno da Cunha instructed Khájah Pirkuli, and requested Shákú, whom he considered a friend, to ascertain from Mir Muhammad the true intentions of the Sultán, as he had attempted to buy up all the rice and provisions in and about Bassein, so that the Portuguese could obtain none, and appeared also to contemplate attacking the fort of Diu. These two gentlemen set about executing the commission by giving one day a banquet, with good wines, to the ambassador, Mir Muhammad, and, the three being alone at table, Pirkuli and Shákú began to speak ill of the Portuguese, saying that they had never acted with justice and had inflicted much



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injury upon the Muhammadans. Further, to ensnare the ambassador more, and to elicit from him what he knew, they blamed the remissness of the Sultán Bahádur Sháh, who, being so powerful and rich, had left them alone, whereas the whole affair might be finished in one hour by capturing the Viceroy, because, when he was taken, the whole fleet would surrender at once as well as the fort. The Viceroy, being taken prisoner, might be put in a cage, and sent to the Turks; and in this manner the fame of the Sultán of Guzerat would spread over the whole world. The ambassador, having partaken freely of wine, and being exhilarated by the sallies of his two companions, both Moslems, whom he now considered to be his most intimate friends, replied with much glee, that this was just what the Sultán had determined to do; he would, in short, invite the Viceroy with his captains to a country-house, surrounded by a strong wall, on the mainland, where he would make them prisoners, or, if this could not be done, he would have them killed in a house in the town. A Portuguese who understood the language had, however, been stationed in the room adjoining the banquet-hall, noted everything that had been spoken, and reported it to Nuno da Cunhá.

When the Viceroy became convinced of the Sultán's intentions, he determined to do his utmost to take him prisoner, either in the fort, or on his own ground, with the aid of some brave nobles carrying secret arms. He kept his plan to himself, but assembled a council of his captains and of some notables of Goa, to whom he explained the general reasons for which he would have to sail to Diu, and more particularly that he had been requested by the Sultán to do so. One of the chief reasons that hastened his departure was, that the Sultán, was occupied in the fitting out of numerous rowing boats, and that a fleet of Turks might likewise arrive, and much money had been sent to Mekkah, as also appeared afterwards. Accordingly, Nuno da Cunhá replied to the ambassadors, that, in order to serve and to please the Sultán, he would set out as speedily as possible, in spite of his sickness and the climate of the town of Diu, which was unsheltered, and, being much exposed to winds, unfavorable to his health. The ambassadors wished to sail in his company, but Nuno da Cunhá sent them away with presents, because he had been informed in a letter from Manoel de Sousa, that they had instructions to take note of everything he might do during the voyage. After the ambassadors had departed, Nuno da Cunhá fitted out a fleet of forty sail, many of which were large ships, galleons and galleys, and sent word to Martim Affonso de Sousa that, before sailing to Malabar, he would pay a visit to Diu, which he did, departing from Goa on the 9th January 1537. When



Nuno da Cunha reached Bassein, where he spent five days, and provided his fleet with various necessities, he found there a captain of the Sultán's with seventeen fustas and other rowing boats, and to his question why he was there with so many boats, the captain replied that the Sultán had ordered him to obtain information about certain pirates of Onore, and some Moguls of Broach. Nuno da Cunha surmised the true reasons of the captain's presence, but dissembled and offered him some things which might be useful in the service of the Sultán, provisioned the fort in conformity with the suspicions he entertained, left Ruy Vaz Pereira in charge of it, as commander, and sailed on the 6th of February, in the company of the captain of the Sultán of Guzerat with his fustas; but the latter soon separated on pretence of taking in water from the shore, and sailed towards Cambay.

Nuno da Cunha, being aware that the Sultán was hunting on the mainland in the environs of Diu, sent Diogo de Mesquita, even before he left Bassein, to apprise him of his arrival; but the Sultán anticipated him by despatching to Bassein his private secretary Sant-Iago,\* who, however, did not find Nuno da Cunha there, but overtook him at sea, when he had nearly reached the island of Diu. When Sant-Iago made his appearance on board, the Viceroy feigned to be more sick than he really was,

\* This man was originally an Arab, and had become the slave of a Portuguese soldier belonging to the fleet when Nuno da Cunha sailed to India. He found him well skilled in several languages, and employed him as interpreter on various occasions that required no secrecy. Afterwards he gave him to Simão Ferreira, who took him to Guzerat, or rather Cambay, to perform the same duties. By his sagacity, and the discretion of his conversation, Sant-Iago gained their favour. The Sultán Bahádur Sháh was so pleased with this man, that he induced Nuno da Cunha to part with him, on a former occasion, in exchange for some Portuguese prisoners, so that he remained with the Sultán, being by some considered to be as good a Musalmán as he, whilst Sant-Iago himself sent word that he was retained by the Sultán against his own wish and yearned in his heart to be in Goa to participate in the sacred

ceremonies of the church. At the same time Sant-Iago insinuated himself into the favour of the Sultán by many flatteries, telling him that the Portuguese could do nothing but rob by sea and by land; that the whole power of all Christendom could not be compared with that of the Sultan in extent of land or wealth, and that he could easily expel the Portuguese from India. Sant-Iago rose by degrees so high in the esteem of the Sultán, that he not only made him a present of 10,000 pardáos for an outfit as one of his captains, but gave him also a yearly allowance of 40,000 Pardáos on condition of his maintaining a batallion of 450 cavalry, and appointed him captain of the renegade Portuguese and Frenchmen who lived under the Sultán's jurisdiction. He was one of the most favoured captains of the Sultán, who bestowed upon him also the title of Faranghi-Khán.



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and received him in bed, as a ruse to delay an interview with the Sultán, while he waited for Antonio da Silveira to arrive in a galley which had lagged behind, and thus gain time. Sant-Iago being a Christian, having already had many dealings with Nuno da Cunhá, and enjoying great favour with the Sultán, was on all these accounts received with much politeness on board. After conversing on general subjects, Nuno da Cunhá began to draw out Sant-Iago's opinions on special ones, and succeeded in eliciting from him the hint that "the Sultán had as yet no claws, but as soon as he got them, he would scratch Nuno." These words confirmed the suspicions of the Viceroy, who already knew the character of the Sultán, and was aware of his inconstancy and vacillation in both what he said and what he did.

After Sant-Iago had departed, Manoel de Sousa made his appearance on board, the same night, without any body on shore suspecting that he had left the fort. In the course of the conversation about the Sultán and his intentions, Manoel de Sousa informed Nuno da Cunhá, that he heard from Nina Rao, the captain of the town of Diu, that the Sultán meant to make a present of the Viceroy to the Turks, after capturing him; and Nuno replied, laughing:—"I hope to God, that just the contrary will take place, and that his evil intentions will be broken with his head." After settling a few affairs requiring immediate attention, Manoel de Sousa took leave, and the Viceroy determined to await the arrival of Antonio de Silveira.

The next day, the 14th February, Nuno da Cunhá sailed about at random, expecting Antonio de Silveira, who shortly made his appearance, and both arrived at 2 P.M. in front of the town. Anchor had not yet been cast, when a fusta of the Sultán arrived, with a present of venison which he had sent from the mainland. It consisted of more than twenty antelopes, accompanied by a message that the animals had been killed in the chase only the day before, and would probably be a welcome gift, because sailors were fond of fresh meat. The antelopes, were all laid out on the deck, but they were much torn by the claws of the panthers which had hunted them, and did not present a pleasing sight. On this occasion João Paiva, the favourite purser of Nuno da Cunhá's fleet, said:—"Please God, your lordship will see your enemies dead like this melancholy venison." These words, unwittingly uttered at the time, proved to be the prophecy of a tragedy, which took place not more than two hours later in the very fusta that had brought the antelopes.

After Nuno da Cunhá had sent back the messenger of the Sultán with his best thanks and compliments, Manoel de Sousa arrived in a catur, saying that the Sultán had come from the



mainland and was much pleased that the Viceroy had arrived. Nuno da Cunha charged him to inform the Sultán that he would very soon pay him a visit, but that on account of his sickness he had not yet put foot on shore. Manoel de Sousa had not yet departed when Khájah Safar and a son of one of the chief captains of the Sultán Bahádur Sháh came on board. To them, he, too, feigned sickness, but thanked them for their visit and charged them to deliver the same message to the Sultán as he had already given to Manoel de Sousa. It happened, however, in spite of all this, that the intention of Nuno da Cunha to pay a visit to the Sultán was frustrated by the latter himself, who, crossing the narrow channel from the mainland to the town, met the fusta which had brought the venison, as well as Manoel de Sousa and the two visitors, and, being informed by them of the Viceroy's sickness and of his request to be on that account excused for not having disembarked and paid his respects to the Sultán, replied:—"As friends are sick when people do not go to see them, I shall pay a visit to the Governor." Accordingly he stepped into the fusta with eight or nine of his captains and only two pages, one of whom carried his short broad sword and the other his bow and arrows. Manoel de Sousa, seeing this, also stepped into the fusta with the Sultán, and sent a page in the catur to make haste and inform the Viceroy that the Sultán was coming to pay him a visit. The Sultán followed, however, so quickly, that he arrived almost immediately after the message, and there was scarcely time to spread carpets over the places through which he had to pass, and for Nuno da Cunha to put on a robe and lie down on a bed with a velvet-like crimson coverlet. As soon as the Sultán stepped on board, the noise of the trumpets, kettle-drums and bagpipes became so great, that nothing else could be heard. Diogo do Couto states that the Viceroy received the Sultán stretched on a couch, but secretly armed and with a sword near at hand. João de Barros, however, asserts that he came out to meet the Sultán when he stepped on board the galley, and that the Sultán, seeing him enfeebled and much changed by his malady, said:—"If I had known that your sickness had made you so weak, I would have sent you word not to rise from your bed; but as you have already done so, let us go and sit down in your room," and, taking the arm of Nuno da Cunha, assisted him into his cabin, no others entering besides the captains of the Sultán, two pages of Nuno da Cunha and João de Paiva, who locked the door. The Sultán took his seat on a chair placed for him, Nuno da Cunha on some silken pillows, and the captains on the carpets. The Sultán began the conversation with inquiries about the Viceroy's intentions, about



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the voyage, about what he had brought, and other general subjects, in which a good deal of time elapsed.

Manoel de Sousa, aware of the evil intentions of the Sultán, and also of the determination of Nuno da Cunha to obtain possession of his person, became uneasy at the length of this interview, and, suspecting that something untoward might have happened, bethought, himself of ascertaining whether such was really the case, by sending Jorge Barbosa, a page of Nuno da Cunha, with a request for orders how to act in this emergency. This youth presented himself at the low window, close to which the Viceroy was sitting, but, whilst the latter inclined his ear to listen to the message, the Sultán, who suspected danger, felt, perhaps mechanically, for his poniard with his hand, and Sant-Iago, who acted as interpreter, guessing his intention, said to Nuno da Cunha:—"Sir, do not listen to any messages, but pay attention to the Sultán, who is speaking to you." Nuno da Cunha motioned the boy away with his hand, turned to the Sultán, and at once understood from the Sultán's countenance and posture what was passing in his mind. Thereupon the Sultán rose and approached the door, near which the captains and nobles with some of whom he was acquainted, were standing, and entered into conversation with them; Nuno da Cunha also got up, called for João de Paiva and, leaning on his shoulder, said to him:—"Tell Manoel de Sousa at once to follow the Sultán, and endeavour to take him to the fort in order to show him how he has prepared it for his service; I will send all the captains to accompany the Sultán with their catur and vessels to the fort, and he is not to be allowed to depart till I arrive." With these words, the Viceroy let go the shoulder of João de Paiva and followed the Sultán till he left the ship, after mutual compliments.

Whilst the Sultán was stepping on board his vessel, Manoel de Sousa embarked in his own catur, according to the orders João de Paiva had brought him, and, when he shook hands with the Sultán, the Sultán, finding them cold, said:—"How is this, sir, affairs are so hot, and your hands so cold?" Manoel de Sousa replied:—"These are the hands of a man who has been living eight days on low diet, and I hope to God, that they will yet appear to you to be very warm." Within the short time of an hour, however, they became altogether cold in death; so little are men aware of what is to befall them. After the Sultán had taken his departure, Nuno da Cunha turned, and, seeing his nobles and captains around him, said:—"Gentlemen, what are you about that you do not accompany the Sultán as I commanded? Embark, and follow Manoel de Sousa;" and they obeyed in great haste.



When the nobles who were in the ships, had observed that the Sultán had paid a visit to the galley of the Viceroy, many of them, too, presented themselves, and, the impression being generally current that the Sultán intended to take the fort of Diu, and to do all the ill he could to the Portuguese, they considered that it would be best to capture him and kill him, and that there could be no better opportunity to execute this design than when the Viceroy had him in his power on the galley. Manoel de Sousa, too, was of that opinion when he sent the page Jorge Barbosa to Nuno da Cunha for orders. When the Sultán departed, the nobles kept their eyes upon him, and gave Nuno da Cunha to understand that they would be ready to carry out his orders. It appeared to him, however, that the proper opportunity for executing his project had not yet arrived. Probably he thought that it would be neither honorable nor chivalrous on his part to abuse the confidence of the Sultán, who had come to visit him as a friend on board the galley, accompanied by nine persons only. He may also have considered that it would not be proper to compass the murder of a king, without assembling his council and obtaining its assent; but there had been no time for such a decision, because the Sultán had paid his visit quite unexpectedly, and the Viceroy had as yet communicated his intention to no one, except Manoel de Sousa, to whom, however, he had given no instructions about the manner in which the Sultán was to be captured. As the Sultán possessed an army in the town, said to consist of 50,000 men, and a numerous fleet, it would have been dangerous to attack him openly by land or by sea, and the abovementioned orders, to endeavour to get him into the fort, appear to have been given by Nuno da Cunha with the intention of executing his design there. It was, indeed, executed, but in an entirely different manner, as will immediately appear.

The galley of Nuno da Cunha, which the Sultán had left, was one league distant from the town; and, as the fusta of the Sultán was rowed better than the catur of Manoel de Sousa, the latter fell back, but signalled from a distance as if he had a message to deliver. The Sultán, who understood what was meant, ordered his crew to stop rowing, that he might hear, whereon Manoel de Sousa shouted to Sant-Iago, who was the interpreter:—"Tell the Sultán to please to step over into my catur, which is not soiled with blood,\* and whilst we are on the way, I will show him how I have

Death of Bahádur Sháh the Sultán of Guzerat, with his courtiers, and Manoel de Sousa the Captain of Diu.

\* This, being the same fusta in to the Viceroy had been brought which the present of the antelopes may have been soiled by their blood.



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prepared the fort for his service, as the Viceroy ordered me." These words displeased Sant-Iago, who replied :—"It is not worth while to tell this to the Sultán." The latter, however, seeing his interpreter more displeased than the words seemed to warrant, insisted on their plain meaning being given, and then asked :—"Why should I not go to the fort?" "Why not, indeed?" continued Saint-Iago, "because it appears they want to make your majesty a prisoner." "A prisoner?" replied the Sultán, "just tell the captain to come into the fusta." As the catur of Manoel de Sousa touched the fusta of the Sultán, and he endeavoured to leap into it, his foot slipped, and he fell into the sea. One of his pages, however, leapt after him into the water, and caught him, and he was, with the aid of Doigo de Mesquita, lifted into the fusta of the Sultán, and, wet as he was, placed before him. That very moment a fusta, containing Lopo de Sousa Continho, Pedr'Alvares de Almeida, the Ouvidor general, and Antonio Correa, who had seen Manoel de Sousa fall into the water and wished to save him, arrived. They reached the catur of Manoel de Sousa, and using it as a bridge, passed across it, and rushed with great haste into the fusta of the Sultán. The latter, seeing them coming in such haste, ordered the courtiers nearest to him to kill Manoel de Sousa. Diogo de Mesquita, who understood his command, having learned something of the language whilst a captive of the same Sultán Bahádur, and who saw Shahab-ud-din Aga, the son-in-law of Khájah Safar,\* stabbing Manoel de Sousa with the dagger with which he killed him, now assaulted the Sultán, and wounded him. The Sultán shouted :—"Let us kill him! let us kill him!" These words became, as it were, the signal for a general hand-to-hand fight between the Sultán's courtiers and the Portuguese nobles, the first victim in which was the Auditor-General, Pedr'Alvares de Almeida, who defended himself valiantly as long as his life lasted, and whose corpse was thrown into the sea, like that of Manoel de Sousa. The other three, namely, Lopo de Sousa Continho, Diogo de Mesquita, and Antonio Correa, defended themselves only with their swords, and were in the greatest peril. That they were not wanting in courage, is evident from their having killed six of the Musalmáns, who were numerous before being thrown overboard, badly wounded. They were, picked up and saved by the Portuguese who arrived in their fustas and caturs.

The Sultán, frightened to death and amazed, could do nothing, but look at the fray; the page who bore his arrows and bow,

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\* This was an Italian renegade from Otranto, according to Manuel de Faria-i-Sousa (T. II, p. 11., cap. I, p. 166) who spells his name *Cojérofer* which may be *Khájah Ja'fur* جعفر خواجه but we retain the *Safar* of De Barros.



an Abyssinian (Alexij) youth, eighteen years of age, seeing his master so perplexed, never lost his courage, but shot his arrows with such quickness and precision, that he seemed to discharge them by pairs, killed in a trice Antonio Cardoso, Affonso Fialho, as well as the page of Manoel de Sousa, and wounded João Jusarte Tizão with Martim de Castro, and ten or twelve others. He would have killed them all, if a musket-ball had not struck him, which so frightened the rowers of the catur in which the nobles were arriving, that they did not venture to approach the fusta of the Sultán, who could do nothing but order his people to row to the town.

While this strife was going on, three boats, full of armed men, whom the Sultán had kept at Mangalore, happened to arrive. When they saw the Portuguese fighting on their fusta, which they recognized, and heard the shouts of the people of the town, who were looking at the spectacle from the walls and high places, they hastened to attack the Portuguese, but, having approached them too closely, had no opportunity of discharging their arrows or taking aim with their guns, and were forthwith boarded by them and engaged in a hand-to-hand fight, in which many of the Musalmáns were thrown overboard, so that they again retreated from the fusta of the Sultán, which, being disengaged, was now, by his command, directed towards the town, where he hoped to escape.

But another impediment presented itself, in the shape of a catur arriving from the Portuguese fort in great haste, and commanded by Captain Bastião Nunes, surnamed Pantafasul. This captain had a berzo (small cannon) on board, and fired into the fusta of the Sultán, killing three oarsmen; the fusta, too, being pierced, could make no progress, and the ebbing tide caused it to drift towards the Portuguese vessel. In this emergency the Sultán thought it best to save his life by swimming, and jumped overboard, followed by all his courtiers, but very soon, getting tired he shouted for help, pronouncing his own name, "Bahádur, Bahádur." A cavalier of Santarem, Tristão de Paiva by name, recognized him, and, approaching in his fusta, reached out an oar, which the Sultán eagerly grasped, but another Portuguese of the same fusta struck him with a pike, whereon also others did the same till he was killed. His body floated on the water for some time, till at last it sank. It could not be recovered, as neither could that of Manoel de Sousa, in spite of the diligent search ordered all along those shores by Nuno da Cunha, who desired to inter both of them according to their rank, and for the commemoration of the event.

João de Sant-Iago reached by swimming a Portuguese rampart on the bar at the entrance of the harbour, and shouted in order



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to be recognized and saved, but was killed. Khájah Safar, who was likewise swimming, reached a fusta, in which were Francisco de Barros de Paiva, Antonio Mendes de Vasconcelles, and Antonio de Soto-maior, the last mentioned of whom recognized him, stretched out his hands and pulled him out of the water. He recovered from his wounds, and proved afterwards very useful to the Portuguese, as he possessed much information concerning the affairs of Guzerat. In this fray several Portuguese nobles also lost their lives, as we have already mentioned; among these was a youthful cavalier, Alvaro Mendes by name, who had, with two companions, entered a fusta of the Musalmáns, most of whom were slain whilst others jumped overboard, but he, being struck by an arrow in the stomach, perished, and in all the boats there were many wounded Portuguese. Of the Musalmáns, as became afterwards known, more than one hundred and forty perished; some of their corpses were washed ashore by the tide, though none of them happened to be persons of note. Of the captains of the Sultán who died, and all of whom were high personages, the principal were Eskander Khán, a native of Mandu, Langar Khán, the son of Maluk Khán, Shaháb-ud-din Aga, son-in-law of Khájah Safar, surnamed on account of his bravery, "the tiger of the world," Minasem, the great chamberlain of the Sultán, the Hindu, Gopal Rao, father of Nina Rao, the captain of Dlu, and uncle of the Sultán, with several other men of high estate and income.

Such was the tragic end of Bahádur Sháh, the Sultán of Guzerat, which took place on the 14th February 1537 (3rd Ramadán 943). He was inured to the hardships of war and possessed good commanders for his troops. Had he followed the advice of wise counsellors, he might have become more powerful; but he was partial to that of men who had more vices than virtues, more boasting than courage, and who flattered him most; such as Rúmy Khán, Faranghi Khán (alias Sant-Iago), and others of that kidney. Bahádur Sháh was of middle stature, but, his limbs being broad and fat, he appeared shorter than he was; his complexion, which he inherited from his mother, a Hindu woman of the Rajput caste, was somewhat dark. His face was broad, his eyes large and prominent, but his physiognomy not unpleasant. He could jump, and run swiftly, was vain of his agility, ran about on battlements and on the tops of walls, inviting others to do the same, and if they refused, called them cowards. He spoke three or four languages very well. He was so liberal, that he knew not how to give little, and upon his captains, among whom were some foreigners, he bestowed large estates, whilst he raised others from very low positions to high dignities. He



was so conceited that he felt pleased when people spoke of him in his presence as if he had been Alexander the Great, but never lost his spirits in reverses of fortune. Thus, in his first interview with Nuno da Cunha, the latter thought proper to make some consoling remarks about his defeat by the Moguls, but he replied, that war was after all nothing more than gambling, in which a man without capital might by good luck sometimes become the master of a large fortune, lose everything he possessed, or again recover it; remarking, at the same time, that the greatest loss inflicted upon him was that of his favourite musician, which could not be made good by his whole kingdom. Afterwards it appeared that the said musician was alive, and the Sultán invited Nuno da Cunha to rejoice with him. His want of foresight, of experience, and his fool-hardiness alone could have induced him to pay a visit to Manoel de Sousa at night in the fort of Diu, and to venture with only nine courtiers on board the galleon of Nuno da Cunha, in consequence of which rashness he lost his life.

We have already mentioned above that the people of the town were from their housetops spectators of the contest on the water,

Nuno da Cunha takes possession of the town; issues proclamations to exculpate himself for the death of the Sultán, and makes a treaty with his successor.

but, when they learnt its issue and were apprized of the death of the Sultán, terror overpowered them to such a degree, that they thought of nothing except how to save their lives, and a general stampede took place with the intention of gaining the mainland. But as the captain of the town instantly took many vessels for the mother of the Sultán and for himself, and the principal inhabitants of the town did the same for themselves, the bulk of the people had no other resource than to flee to certain fords of the island, where the water was very shallow at low tide, and pass over to the mainland. As the inhabitants believed that as soon as Nuno da Cunha entered the town, he would not spare their lives and would pillage everything, they were in such fright and haste, that they took away only what property they could on their backs and in their hands; but the armed rabble, miscalled the army of the Sultán, were terrified most and fled furthest even after they had escaped from the island; while the prisoners in the jails, all of whom had been released, did the same. When Nuno da Cunha was informed of this universal scare, he sent Khájah Safar to the town and the shipping with a proclamation, that he would allow fifty vessels to depart without let or hindrance, but that they must first obtain passports from him, on pain of being captured and losing their property.

The next day the Viceroy sent other proclamations to the town



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by Khájah Safar to inform the inhabitants, that he granted security of life and property to all who would remain in their houses, and that any merchants who might have gone to the mainland, might safely return and take care of their possessions; protection to all being guaranteed in the service of his king and master D João, except to armed men, who, if discovered within the limits of the town, would forfeit their lives. Proclamation was also made that no Portuguese, of whatever quality or condition, or person in the service of the King of Portugal, should enter the town, or injure any inhabitant, or make him captive, on pain of death. These proclamations so assuaged the fears of the people, that the majority of them returned in three or four days to their houses. In the hurry of their flight they had dropped many things in the streets, but their homes had been pillaged by their own countrymen. A Portuguese bombardier, Framengo by name, was the only European who infringed the law, by forcibly depriving a Guzerati of a gold ornament, and he was hanged for it, and the article returned to its owner. This act of prompt justice pleased both the Hindus and the Musulmáns so much, combined with the moderation of not pillaging the town, that they believed Nuno da Cunha to be a just man who could not have encompassed the death of the Sultán from covetousness, and that the latter must have lost his life through his own fault.

Nuno da Cunha came on shore with three caturus, leaving all the armed men in the ships, to avoid frightening the natives, and took up his quarters in the fort, which was garrisoned by twelve hundred men. After hearing mass, the Viceroy assembled all the captains and chief officers of the fleet, whom he harangued, and to whom he explained that the town of Diu had, by the death of the Sultán, fallen into his power, an event the achievement of which the king had so much desired. After his speech, which appears, from the ridiculous and bombastic comparisons instituted between the Indian expedition of Alexander the Great and the Portuguese exploits, to be at least partly apocryphal, Nuno da Cunha conversed familiarly with the captains on various subjects, among them the government of the town, as well as the immediate arrangements which it would be necessary to make. It appears to have been the custom of Nuno da Cunha always to consult his captains, and it was also his fortune that most of them agreed to whatever he proposed. In the present instance Antonio da Silveria de Menezes was elected captain of the town of Diu, not so much because he was his own brother-in-law, but by common consent, on account of his fitness for the position. The names of the civil and military officers appointed on this



occasion are all faithfully recorded by De Barros, but do not enlist our interest, and may therefore be omitted.

After having made the appointments abovementioned, Nuno da Cunha considered it proper to offer his excuses to the mother of the Sultán, who was at Novanagar, with Nina Rao, the captain of Diu, for the death of her son. He averred that the event itself was a mere accident, which happened on account of the death of Manoel de Sousa, and was far from having been planned by the Viceroy himself; for, had he entertained the intention of killing the Sultán, he might easily have done so when he was alone with him in the cabin of his galley. He also requested the lady to remain where she was, as no harm would befall the kingdom; but if she wished to take up her abode in the town, he would entertain the same loyalty and respect for her as for a princess allied to his king and master D. João, the King of Portugal. All these fine words were, however, lost upon the Sultán's mother, who, being deeply grieved, obstinately refused to accept the message.

Padlocks and seals had been put upon all the houses of the Sultán and of his mother, in addition to those which were already upon them, and an inventory of all the property contained in them was drawn up by Antonio da Silveira, Fernão de Sousa de Tavora, the secretary, João da Costa, and Estevão Toscano, Factor of the fleet, with his clerks, and the whole property entrusted to the keeping of the Factor, Antonio da Veiga. All the gold, silver, and coined money found in the houses of the Sultán and of his mother is said to have amounted to twelve thousand pardãos, besides some jewelry, brocade and silk cloth. Those, who knew of the great treasures of gold, silver, precious stones, plate, golden caparisons for horses, gems, &c., kept by the Sultán's father in Champanir, besides the booty acquired by Bahádúr Sháh himself in his campaigns against Mandu, Chitore and other places, were astonished at the smallness of the property found. It is asserted, however, that the officers who made the inventory stole much, and the character of Nuno da Cunha himself was calumniated, but the scantiness of the property he left to his heirs, is a sufficient proof of his poverty. It is also to be taken into consideration that the Sultán had spent large sums of money in his contests, which were numerous; but the Portuguese, although disappointed in the treasure they had found, were amazed at the quantity of warlike stores they obtained in the arsenal, and thought they could not spend them in twenty years. These consisted of gunpowder and of materials for manufacturing it, of fire-works, of muskets, of countless bows and arrows, and of all kinds of ammunition,



many saddles for horses, and rich shabracks for them, arms of all sorts, as well as provisions of every kind. The fleet, consisting of one hundred and sixty sail, numbered many beautiful galleys, galleons, transports and fustas, all of which were extremely well fitted out. The artillery of the fleet, as well as of the arsenal, consisted of a great number of very large cannons of brass, and many more of iron, and among them were also three basilisks\* of large size, one of which Nuno da Cunha sent to the King of Portugal as a curiosity.

It must have been a great hardship to the inhabitants that they were not only prohibited from leaving the town, but that the Portuguese authorities had actually taken possession of all the merchandise they could lay hold of, and stored it in the custom house; accordingly Nuno da Cunha assembled the chiefs of the people, and informed them that he would return the confiscated property, and allow all the natives of the place as well as strangers to come and to go, and to trade as they liked. He assured them that he had issued his proclamation, prohibiting the emigration of the inhabitants, lest they might depart full of wrong impressions and scandalous reports about the unfortunate death of the Sultán, and unjustly tarnish the good name of the Portuguese. He assured them that, being the governor of this portion of India for the most Christian and virtuous sovereign of Christendom, who desired that his officers should in all things adhere to truth and honesty, keeping their promises towards all kinds of men, from the smallest trader to the highest princes of India—he wished to justify what he had done according to the orders of his king, but especially with reference to the matters concerning the Sultán Bahádur Sháh, which his majesty had specially recommended to him, ordering him to do his utmost for the maintenance of peace, and to give no cause for breaking it. The Sultán had, however, been so hard to please, and so ill-intentioned, that he did not care for peace, and preferred to enter into an alliance with the Turks, the foes and rivals in India of the King of Portugal. Nuno da Cunha further stated that since 1529, when he had come to India, till the present year of 1537, he had made all possible efforts to gain the confidence of the Sultán, who, however, trusted a Turk more, as it is well known that he intended to hand over to Rúmy Khán not only Bassein—but even the fort of Diu, where he had found shelter in his troubles, without which he would have been compelled to go into exile to Mekkah, whereas the great concourse of ships, the increase of

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\* Portuguese *basilisco*, some kind of big gun probably.



trade, and the revenues accruing from the customs and other duties of this island bade fair to make good the losses sustained from the Moghul wars, and to promote the welfare of the whole kingdom of Guzerat. In spite of all these advantages, which were so manifest, the Sultán lived at enmity with his own subjects, had but little intercourse with them, followed his own impulses, and, instead of associating with men of honest intentions who loved their country, surrounded himself with villains of low extraction, and constantly fomented intrigues with the princes of the Dekkan, the King of Calicut, and the chiefs along the coasts of Arabia, against the Portuguese, which were to have resulted in their expulsion from India, by a general league against them. To show that these statements were not of his own invention, Nuno da Cunhá produced the correspondence discovered among the papers of the Sultán, and of his treasurer A'bd-ul-Qáder. He also informed Khájah Safar and the other nobles present, that, when the Sultán paid him a visit on his galley with some courtiers, he was already aware of the Sultán's plan to invite him to a banquet for the purpose of making him prisoner or slaying him, and that, had he been so minded, he might easily have done to the Sultán what he had intended to do to him; but that he was ready to suffer all things in obedience to his king's order never to use any deceit or bad faith in his service; it appeared, however, that God had allowed the Sultán to kill Manoel de Sousa, in the manner Khájah Safar had seen, that the strife might arise in which the Sultán himself lost his life, in fulfilment of divine justice.

Nuno da Cunhá had a document of justification drawn out in Arabic and Persian, which was signed by Khájah Safar, by the principal merchants, and by the Qádys, that the Sultán Bahádur Sháh had lost his life by his own fault, and not by order of the Viceroy. Copies of this justification were sent to the princes of the Dekkan, to King Narsinga, to the King of Ormuz and other chiefs along the coasts of Arabia, and were intended also to discourage those who had conspired with the late Sultán to expel the Portuguese from India.

To allay the fears and apprehensions of the people, Nuno da Cunhá allowed the government of the town to be continued nearly in the same manner as during the lifetime of the Sultán, whose servants continued to draw their pay as before; alms were distributed to the poor as before, and the lamps in the mosques were lighted; great care was taken not to scandalise the people, but all the dues and rents flowed henceforth into the treasury of the Portuguese government. As to judicial affairs, Nuno da Cunhá ordered the people to elect their own judges according to their usage, without, however, being permitted to condemn any



person to death, except after stating their reasons to him, and consulting Nina Rao, the captain of Diu and the queen-mother of the Sultán who was at Novanagur. She, however, obstinately refused to accept this compliment, or any other overtures of reconciliation, by not listening to any message; but, being apprehensive that Nuno da Cunha would at last take umbrage at her obduracy, and forcibly deport her when he left Diu; she fled from Novanagur to a fort called Talajah, though she afterwards repented of having done so.

Before the news of the Sultán's death had reached Mirán Muhammad Khan of Kandesh, his nephew, and son of his sister, Muhammad Zemán Mirza, the brother-in-law of the Emperor Humayún, hastened to obtain the throne of Guzerat, and marched by the way of Talajah—or, according to Ferishta, of Ahmada-bad—with a view of meeting the queen-mother and obtaining her assent. As he had, however, two thousand cavalry with him, the Rao, who was with the queen-mother, refused to give him admittance into the fort. He thereupon stated to him, that, having heard of the unfortunate death of the Sultán, he had come to receive the commands of the queen-mother, as he was prepared to sacrifice his own life to avenge the death of her son. The Rao thanked him for his devotedness to the cause of the deceased Sultán, and, promising to inform his mother, left him in his camp. After a while the Rao came out of the fort, with the reply of the queen-mother, that she felt greatly touched by the offer of Muhammad Zemán Mirza, but that she had for the present no other occupation than the shedding of tears and bewailing the loss of her son; wherefore she would have no objection if Muhammad Zemán Mirza were to return to Mandu, whence he had come, as soon as convenient.

Indignant at the treatment the queen-mother had accorded him, and the indifference with which she had viewed his offer of assistance, wishing neither to see nor to speak to him, and not even giving him admittance into the fort, Muhammad Zeman Mirza was determined to revenge himself upon her. Accordingly he feigned that he was returning to Mandu, and, having learnt that, not feeling herself secure enough where she was, the lady intended to betake herself to a place of greater safety, he took up his position in a secluded locality through which she had to pass, and there he deprived her of all the gold and jewels she had saved from Diu, leaving her only the most indispensable articles for the prosecution of her journey. But he did more; knowing that the escort of mercenaries, mostly Persians and Arabs, who accompanied the queen, followed her only for the sake of pay, he promised them double allowances, decoyed them into his own service, and



got them to proclaim him Sultan of Guzerat, which title he assumed at once when he made his entry into Novanagur. Fully aware that the Portuguese could greatly aid him in his enterprise, Muhammad Zeman Mirza at once sent off a messenger to Nuno da Cunha, to inform him that he had been elected Sultan of Guzerat by more than six thousand men, and that the Sultan Bahadur Shah had left no sons, but that, even if he had left any, the people hated him so much for his cruelties, that they would prefer to see a stranger on the throne rather than his own progeny. He requested Nuno da Cunha to accept his friendship, and to believe that the kingdom belonged by right to the Empire of Dehli, for which reason already his brother-in-law the Emperor Humayún had laid claim to it; as, however, he did not wish to persevere in his enterprise without the aid of the Viceroy, he requested him to favour it, by ordering the Khutbah to be recited after prayers in the mosques, with his name as the new Sultán of Guzerat.\* Nuno da Cunha received the messenger honorably, and, after some negotiations between the Viceroy with his captains on the one side, and Muhammad Zemán Mirza on the other, the latter gave his assent to the following treaty:—

“Muhammad Zemán Mirza, Sultán of Guzerat, grants to the King of Portugal, the whole coast of Guzerat constituting a belt of two leagues inland, with the inhabitants thereof, and all the harbours, beginning from the town of Mangalore [in the Peninsula of Cambay] as far as the Island of Beth; and in the same manner he grants the town of Daman in the Gulf of Cambay with all the lands and pergunnahs, the jurisdiction, and the rents according to the registers, as far as Bassein.

“If the king of Portugal desires to coin money for those localities and make it current in Guzerat for his own profit, it is to bear the insignia of Muhammad Zemán.

“All the ships of war, as well as transports of the late Sultán Bahádur, whether they are loaded or not, and wherever they may be, are to be surrendered to the Sultán Muhammad Zemán, who will in none of his ports allow war vessels to be built, but only such as serve for the transport of goods.

“Horses arriving by sea, will pay the same duties as they do at Goa, and these duties will be for the King of Portugal.

“Slaves escaping from Portuguese or from Musalmán territory, will be mutually surrendered.

“Any Portuguese found travelling in the Sultán's territory without the license of the Viceroy of India, or of the captain of

\* In this he at last succeeded, the [i.e., Portuguese] authority. W. Erskine “Baber and Humayun.” London 1854, vol. II., p. 97.  
the Sefa Mosque at Diu under their



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Diu, or of Basseln, will be made prisoner and sent to the Portuguese authorities.

“Merchants shall travel about with their goods without let or hindrance, even if there be war between the Portuguese and the Guzeraties, nor will the duties hitherto exacted from them be demanded.

“Muhammad Zemán presents the King of Portugal with the country-house of Melique situated at Novanagar.”

This treaty was drawn up in the Portuguese and Persian languages, with the signature and seal of Muhammad Zemán attached. The latter, moreover, also paid fifty thousand pardãos for distribution among the soldiers of Nuno da Cunha, who promised to aid him to obtain the throne of Guzerat. Muhammad Zemán was, however, soon defeated by the partizans of Mirán Muhammad Shah Farakhy, nephew of Bahádur Sháh, and fled to Sind; the new Sultán Mirán Muhammad enjoyed a reign of only six weeks, and died during the same year, 1537, in which his uncle Bahádur Sháh had lost his life.

Nuno da Cunha had conceived the highest esteem for Khájah Safar, because he had greatly aided the Portuguese in pacifying the town of Diu by his ability and influence, and by the authority

Khájah Safar goes to the mainland; brings forces; besieges the Island of Diu, which the Portuguese evacuate, and retire to the fort.

he enjoyed among the Musalmáns; wherefore this Viceroy recommended him, before departing for Goa, to Captain Antonio da Silveira, who treated him most honorably, and lived with him on the best terms. Out-

wardly Khájah Safar was loyal and devoted to the Portuguese; in his heart, however, he brewed mischief against them, as became evident from his sudden disappearance during the night, about the end of April 1537. Being a man of large property and mercantile enterprise, his movements excited no suspicion, his vessels arrived or departed, laden with goods, and he had even begun to build several large houses in the town. He had prepared all his plans so cautiously, and executed them so skilfully, that nobody was aware of his departure until it became known that he had removed his whole property, with his numerous wives, children and servants. Khájah Safar went first to Surat, and then to Ahmadabád, where the new Sultán Mirán Muhammad held his court, and to whom he offered his services against the Portuguese, representing that they could easily be expelled from Diu. He stated that they had not even sufficient water in the fort, and that it would take a year to complete the reservoir they had begun to construct; also the bulwark of the town of the Rúmýs, ordered to be built by the Viceroy, was still very low, and could not be defended. He



remarked further, that the Portuguese being few in number, in the island and the town, they could not defend them against Moslem soldiers, many of whom were even now there, disguised as merchants. When the Portuguese, said he, abandon the island with the town and retire to the fort, they will not be able to live on account of the want of water already mentioned, and moreover, added the Khájah, he was certain of the approach of a Turkish fleet, now already in the Red Sea, which would not fail to make its appearance at Diu in a few months, and would bring the enterprise to a successful termination.

The above and many other reasons were most welcome to the Sultán, who already hated the Portuguese, as being infidels, and burnt also with the desire to avenge the death of his uncle. He immediately issued orders to collect in Champanir an army of five thousand cavalry and ten thousand infantry, over which he appointed Alu Khán Commander ; but Khájah Safar intending so surprise Diu at once, got ready to march with three thousand cavalry and four of infantry.

As soon as this news reached Antonio da Silveira, he hastened his preparations for defence. First of all he completed the reservoir by setting many persons to work at it, and then employed for a considerable time daily three hundred oxen to fill it with water ; he also collected provisions and many other things necessary during a long siege. For the security and defence of the town, he sent many labourers to construct the bulwark planned by Nuno da Cunha, at the village or rather suburb of the Rúmys, where the captain of it Francisco Pacheco immediately established his quarters, with the men who were to defend it. Then he sent all his vessels into the channel which separates the island from the continent, and appointed Francisco de Gouvea captain of this flotilla. When the people of the town saw these preparations and became aware that a contest would soon take place, many of them fled, especially of the Baniahs ; but Antonio da Silveira issued strict orders to prevent the inhabitants from emigrating, and hanged some to enforce them.

Khájah Safar was not many months in making his appearance ; for, news had scarcely been brought that he was at Novanagur, when he arrived on the 26th of June 1538 at the Rúmy suburb of Diu, with some of his forces, mostly Turks, Abyssinians and Arabs, who robbed all the Guzeratis that lived there, and killed some of them ; but three other Portuguese, who were there with André Villela, the custom-house clerk, escaped, and took refuge on the bulwark of Francisco Pacheco, who had twelve musketeers for defence, and sent at once a message to Antonio da Silveira in the fort. The latter arrived soon with reinforcements, and, when



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Khájah Safar opened fire, it was not only returned with rapidity, but a musket-ball struck him in the arm, and he retreated with the loss of a few of his men.

This sudden attack by Khájah Safar, which was the preamble of the coming strife, as well as the information that numerous forces were marching to the island, put Antonio da Silveira more on his guard concerning its defence. As great numbers of Musalmans with arms, but disguised like peaceable inhabitants, were in the town, and had already endeavoured to raise disturbances, Antonio da Silveira now deprived them all of their weapons, and imprisoned the chiefs among them as hostages for their good behaviour. The two fords, where the water was very low at ebb tide, and where the late Sultán Bahádur had already erected ramparts, were now manned by Manoel Falcão, with fifty, and by Luiz Rodrigues de Carvalho, with twenty-five men, as also several pieces of artillery; whilst Francisco de Gouvea, the chief captain of all the vessels at Diu, entered the channel with more than twenty, and had more than three hundred musketeers to dispute its passage. The ramparts of the suburbs of the Rúmys were also built to a much greater height, and were held by Francisco Pacheco with seventy chosen men.

Not long after the repairs and preparations just mentioned, had been terminated, Alu Khán arrived, on the 14th of August, with his army which consisted of five thousand cavalry and ten thousand infantry. He deployed his forces along the channel watched by Gonzals Falcão, Antonio da Velga and Francisco de Gouvea. Khájah Safar, whose trifling wound had been cured, laid siege to the passage in charge of Lopo de Sousa, which was called Pálerin, and erected opposite to it a battery of three mortars, doing considerable damage, but their fire was returned by the Portuguese artillery. They had concentrated their forces on the spots where the Musalmans hoped to cross the channel, had advanced under cover of their trenches to the very edge of the water, and were moreover protected by the artillery of their ships; but they dared go no further to drive the enemy away owing to the very heavy fire of artillery. Considering also the great numbers of the Musalmans, and the impossibility of defending the whole length of the channel for a long time, as well as the daily loss of life and ammunition, and the discontent of his own people with his intention to defend the whole island, Antonio da Silveira assembled a council of his captains and principal men, and agreed with them to defend only the fort and the town where the artillery now scattered for the defence of the island would be collected; also the ramparts along the channel already mentioned were to be evacuated, and all the other posts abandoned.



Accordingly the garrisons of the ramparts were during the night to march to the fort, and Paio Rodrigues de Arango was despatched with a barque to bring in the whole artillery of the bulwark of Gonzals Falcão, whilst Luiz Rodrigue de Carvalho had to bring in a fusta all the artillery of his bulwark. During the night, however, it began to rain so hard, that the sky appeared to have been opened, the sea was ebbing, and the barque, which was being towed by a catur, stuck fast in the sand with its heavy weight of ten pieces of artillery, and was at once taken possession of by the Musalmans, the crew having barely time enough to make their escape in the fusta. On the same occasion the fusta of Luiz Rodrigues de Carvalho, with everything he was bringing from his bulwark, was driven on shore, with three galliots, to which the Portuguese at once set fire, lest the Musalmáns should profit by them; but they took possession of them, half burnt as they were, with all the artillery they contained. As the Portuguese were but twenty, and the Moslems numerous, they could not beat them off, and fought during two hours, till they were at last taken off by country-boats sent to their assistance. Lopo de Sousa, being in his own galliot, was driven by the storm to the mainland on to dry ground, where he was surrounded by a number of Moslems, against whom he defended himself with great valour, till the tide floated his vessel, and he sailed back to the town in spite of the surging tempest.

As soon as the posts along the channel which separates the Island of Diu from the mainland had been abandoned, both the infantry and the cavalry of the Moslems advanced into the island. Antonio de Silveira, whose intention had first been to defend the town, now abandoned it, because some artillery and vessels had fallen into the hands of the foe, as already narrated above, and because, in order to defend the town, it would have been necessary to bring great guns from the fort, and thus weaken it, whilst they could not be of much use for the defence of so great an area. No trust whatever could be placed in the loyalty of the inhabitants, who displayed their sympathy for the approaching foe by at once lifting standards and making other signals as soon as they perceived their co-religionists. Accordingly the Portuguese burnt some boats which they could not take away; destroyed all the sulphur and saltpetre, and took some of the chief merchants with them to the fort, as prisoners, not because they had in any way offended, but because they might be of use in emergencies. When the Moslems became aware that the town had been evacuated by the Portuguese, they forthwith marched in, and were received



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with great rejoicings and illuminations. They spent the whole night in visiting the mosques and offering thanksgivings for having conquered the town without bloodshed.

Alu Khán established his quarters in the houses of the queen-mother of the late Sultán Bahádur, which were high and isolated in the manner of a fortress, because she, being very aged, disliked being in a noisy locality and exposed to disturbances. Khájah Safar took up his lodgings near this fort, in a place called Mandavin, where he posted several mortars before dawn, not so much for the purpose of inflicting damage on the sea-bulwark opposite, as to fire on the galliot of Lopo de Sousa and other fustas, most of which, however, escaped, except two, which they sank, killing a few sailors. It seems strange that if the Musulmáns actually had so large an army as De Barros reports, they never attacked the fort, during the whole remainder of the month of August, pretending to wait for the arrival of the Turkish fleet, and contenting themselves with merely skirmishing with the Portuguese.

The late Sultán, Bahádur Shah, had, even after making a treaty of peace with the Portuguese, privately despatched an embassy to Constantinople with rich presents for the Sultán, valued at

Arrival of the Turkish fleet at Diu, and the beginning of hostilities.

six hundred thousand pieces of gold,\* besides large sums of money to pay the auxiliary force that might be sent to Diu.

The aid expected arrived, however, only during the reign of Mahmúd Shah III, when Suleymán Pasha, who had gone from Constantinople to Cairo, and started from Suez with a large fleet, cast anchor before the Island of Diu on the 4th of September 1538. It is strange that Ferishta makes no mention of this Turkish expedition, which De Barros considers to have been of such force, that if God had not ordained the rising of Khájah Safar and the consequent detention of the fleet at Diu, it might, by sailing at once to Goa, have conquered it, and after a while have effected the expulsion of the Portuguese from the whole of India.

Miguel Vaz, a cavalier of great experience, had been sent by Antonio da Silveira to the open sea in order to discover the approach of the long expected Turkish fleet, which was, however, perceived sooner from the highest point of the fort itself. At a distance of two leagues, fourteen galleys were seen in one line, and somewhat nearer to the land seven others, towing transports. Miguel Vaz reported that he had counted forty-five

\* Lafitan, vol. I., p. 213 *apud* vol. II., p. 73.  
Erskine "Baber and Humayun."



galleys, and other vessels of different sizes in great numbers, whereon Antonio da Silveira immediately sent him with a letter to Nuno da Cunha, and wrote also another to Simão Guedes at Chaul. On leaving Diu, Miguel Vaz had the good luck to escape from two Turkish galleys which pursued him, as his fusta was very light, and they had not wind enough to overtake him. When he arrived at Chaul, he met Martim Affonso de Mello Usarte, who had been sent by Nuno da Cunha with a galley and men, from Goa, to succour Antonio da Silveira at Diu, and further forces were also promised by the Viceroy.

The arrival of the Turkish fleet, which, as we have already stated, cast anchor on the 4th September, not only dismayed the Portuguese by its magnitude, but as it appeared the next day, frightened also the Musulmáns of the town, who had at first hailed the advent of the Turks as that of their deliverers from the yoke of the Portuguese. Not one of the inhabitants paid a visit to the fleet, except Khájah Safar, who went on board the galley of Suleymán Pásha to welcome him, and to assure him that the Portuguese were terribly frightened by his arrival. The Pasha, in order to make a display of his power, and to intimidate the Portuguese still more, disembarked the next day seven hundred musketeers and archers, all Yanitcharis, richly dressed in brocades, crimson satins, and other silks of various colours with gold-embroidered, plumed felt bonnets on their heads. On their way to the town they passed under the walls of the fort at which they discharged their arquebuses, killing six and wounding twenty Portuguese, who had carelessly exposed themselves on the walls. But three hundred Portuguese musketeers so replied to their fire, that they killed fifty and wounded many more, which was an easy matter, because they marched closely together, and scarcely a shot fired into them missed its man. When the Yanitcharis arrived in the town, their principal officers desired to see Alu Khán, who dwelt in the royal palace, and was awaiting them with all the pomp and dignity due to his rank, seated on a chair of State. Seven or eight of these Turkish captains entered with the greatest nonchalance and pulled him about contemptuously by his venerable large grey beard. Some of the attendants, exasperated at this discourteous behaviour of the Turks, wished to chastise them, but Alu Khán, being a prudent man, ordered them not to touch these men, who said they were strangers, and only used the mode of salutation to which they were accustomed in their own country. Having obtained this proof of the manners of the Turks, and fearing a worse display of them, Alu Khán pretended to be very desirous to accommodate his guests



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as well as possible, and left them in possession of the houses, departing himself with seven or eight thousand men to the mainland, where he encamped in a palm-grove to be well rid of the Turks; but left many of his people with Khájah Safar to aid them. De Barros alludes to no other misbehaviour of the Yanitcharis on this occasion, except the one just mentioned; but Diogo do Couto (in Ch. 7 of the 3rd book of the 5th Decada) states that they sacked the town, carried off most of its property like robbers, and dishonoured the wives and daughters of the inhabitants.

The next day, which was the 6th of September, the sky was overcast at dawn, and the south wind brought dark clouds, accompanied by lightning, and the place where the fleet had cast anchor being open, the Pasha moved it into the harbour of Madrefabat, which is five leagues distant. Nevertheless they lost their four transports with some ammunition and other things, among them a great number of saddles for horses with their trappings, which were washed on shore and fell into the hands of the Guzeratis, so that Alu Khán concluded that the intention of the Turks was to wage war by land also with the intention of subjugating India. The suspicions and distrust which Alu Khán and Khájah Safar now entertained towards the Turks were advantageous to the Portuguese, who obtained time to make better preparations during the absence of the fleet at Madrefabat, where it remained twenty days. They also learnt what the Turks contemplated doing, if they obtained success.

Whilst the fleet was absent at Madrefabat, Antonio da Silveira strengthened the walls of the fort, and increased their thickness, while the Turks who had remained at Diu, prepared the intrenchments under the direction of Khájah Safar; but the latter was desirous first of all to attack the bulwark of the Rúmy suburb, in order to avenge himself for the wound he had there received in his arm. For this purpose he requested the Pasha to let him have some heavy artillery; accordingly the latter sent three basilisks, with some other pieces, in charge of Beharám Beg and some troops. The Turks established a battery, and erected a wooden structure several stories high which they filled with inflammable materials and anchored in the channel, that it might float against the bulwarks. Francisco Gouvea, however, set this structure on fire at great personal risk, and the men who were in charge of it saved their lives by abandoning it and jumping into the water. On the same day, namely, the 13th September, Fernão de Moraes arrived in a catur from Goa, with a message from Nuna da Cunhá, and in his company Pero Vaz Guedes, with another catur, bringing some provisions. On the 26th of



September, another catur arrived from Goa, with the news that the new Viceroy D. Garcia de Noronha had come to supersede Nuno da Cunha, and brought a large fleet, from which he hoped soon to despatch reinforcements to Diu. Lopo de Sousa Continho offered himself to convey these glad tidings to the bulwark of the Rûmys, and, embarking in a fusta, reached it, and shouted the message out to Francisco Pacheco. This errand he accomplished successfully, but he escaped with his life only by a miracle, considering the many shots which were fired at him by the Moslems, both while he was coming to the place and while he was leaving it.

After having remained twenty days at Madrefabat, the fleet returned on the 27th September to Diu, with a favourable wind, displaying all its bunting, its silk flags of enormous dimensions floating in the breeze, and the crews all dressed out with ornaments as if coming from some festivity, with a great noise of clarions, kettle-drums and other instruments. The galleys followed, one after the other, the fusta commanded by Yusuf Hâmed, their chief captain, and taking up their positions opposite the stone pavement along the bulwark of the bar defended by captain Francisco de Gouvea, fired into the fort, but were replied to from this bulwark and from the tower of St. Thomé with heavy artillery, which sank one of their galleys, but few of its crew escaping. Their own artillery did more damage to the Portuguese than that of the Moslems, for their mortars burst and wounded many of their men, and also killed some. This calamity they attributed to the bad country-made powder they used, which had been taken from Sultân Bahâdur's arsenals. The bombardment lasted from sun rise till 10 A.M., when all the galleys had entered, and a great cloud of smoke covered the sky. They anchored at the southern corner of the town in front of the bulwark of Diogo Lopes de Sequeira.

All that time Khâjah Safar had continued to fire at the bulwark of the suburb of the Rûmys with the basilisk he had brought from Madrefabat, and with other pieces so obstinately, that he had completely destroyed the upper portion of the bulwark. "In the afternoon, however, after the fleet had entered the channel, the artillery became silent, and an assault of the bulwark took place under the command of a Turkish officer with two thousand men, seven hundred of whom were Yanitcharis, who followed his red banner to the sounds of martial music produced by a variety of noisy instruments. The assault was furious, and as many scrambled up the ruined bulwark as could obtain a footing. The Turks were already planting their banner, and believed that they had conquered the place,



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when powder-pots were thrown upon them, which killed one hundred and fifty and wounded many. When the night set in, the Turks returned to their entrenchment.

During the same night, one Antonio Falleiro came to the fort with a message from Francisco Pacheco to Antonio da Silveira, that he was so fatigued from the combat as to be unable to write. Antonio Falleiro then narrated that the garrison of the bulwark was so utterly exhausted as to be unable to fight any longer, and that if the night had not put an end to the fight, all would either have been taken prisoners or killed. Khájah Safar had recommended the garrison to surrender the post, and promised to allow them freely to depart to the fort. After hearing this message, Antonio da Silveira held a council of war, and it was decided, that, as the bulwark could no longer be defended, nor reinforcements sent to it from the fort, it would be better for the garrison to surrender this post, and to aid afterwards in the defence of the fort, than to be cut to pieces. Antonio Falleiro was instructed to carry this information to Francisco Pacheco, with orders to surrender to Khájah Safar, but to obtain the ratification of Suleymán Pasha likewise, and, for the sake of greater security, to bring the document of the capitulation first to Antonio da Silveira for his approval. It appears, however, that Francisco Pacheco and those who were with him must have been greatly frightened, for, as soon as it was daylight, the garrison of the fort perceived a white banner floating on the bulwarks as a signal of peace, and also others on the wharves of the suburb of the Rúmys. About noon all the Portuguese of the bulwarks were embarked in boats by the Turks, who set up their red banner, and pulled down the white one with the sign of the cross on it, which so exasperated João Pires and six other Portuguese, that they offered opposition to the Turks, but fell all as martyrs to the faith, as De Barros piously observes.

The day after the surrender, concerning the conditions of which Antonio da Silveira knew nothing, Antonio Falleiro made his appearance at the foot of Gaspar de Sousa's bulwark, dressed like a Turk, and brought a letter from Francisco Pacheco to Antonio da Silveira informing him that he had obtained a document from the Pasha, which could not be submitted for want of time to be approved by Antonio da Silveira; that their lives, property and slaves had been granted to the garrison, but their arms and artillery would be taken by the Turks. The Portuguese were all conveyed to the town and lodged, two by two, in various houses; Francisco Pacheco with his first lieutenant Gonzalo de Almeida, and Antonio Falleiro, however, were taken on board the galley of the Pasha, who received them well, and gave them Turkish garments. Francisco



Pacheco then requested Suleymán Pasha to fulfil the conditions of the document of security which he had granted to the garrison, whereon he told Francisco Pacheco not to be uneasy on that score, as they would all be complied with, but, as the Pasha intended to attack the fort by sea and by land, he would have to retain them in custody until it was taken, after which he would send all the prisoners to India and release them. He also enjoined Francisco Pacheco to write to Antonio da Silveira to surrender the fort at once, on condition of having the lives of the garrison spared, and vessels allowed them to depart in, but informing him that in the contrary case all would have to perish, because the Turks had basilisks and formidable artillery with which to attack the fortress. When Antonio da Silveira had perused the letter, he wrote to Francisco Pacheco not to be astonished at the non-compliance of the Turks with the conditions of the capitulation, because they never kept their promises; as to the threats of the Pasha and his artillery, they were of no account. In giving this reply to Antonio Falleiro, Antonio da Silveira told him not to send or bring any more messages, for, being already a Turk, he would be fired at.

On the 5th of October the galleys of the Turks were still so scattered, that two catur passed safely between them into the

The Turks besieged the fort of Diu.

fort. In one of these Francisco Sequeira, by nation a Malabari (but a Christian and nationalised, with a pension for his services, by the King of Portugal) arrived with letters from the Viceroy D. Garcia de Noronha, and in the other, D. Duarte de Lima from Bassein, with ten or twelve men, to aid in the defence of the fort. Thereupon the Turks, who were already in possession of the bulwark of the Rúmy suburb, annoyed at the safe entrance of the two catur, placed their galleys closer, determined to begin the siege in earnest, and erected their batteries on shore, aided by the local knowledge of Khájah Safar. The artillery, intended for battering the walls, consisted of nine basilisks of uncommon size, each of which carried a ball of cast-iron weighing 90 or 100 pounds; five cannons called espalhafatos for throwing large stones; fifteen pieces called lions and eagles, four culverines, and some siege-guns. The remainder of the artillery, which was of small calibre, consisted of eighty pieces, named esperas, half-esperas and falconets, with one quartas which was a terrible instrument of destruction. One of the captains of this artillery, who had placed it, was Khájah Safar, and the other Yusuf Hámed of Alexandria, with two thousand Turks distributed in various posts, besides the Guzaratis of Khájah Safar. Suleymán Pasha always remained with the fleet in



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his galley and never came on shore for any purpose whatever, either because he was very old and fat, or to be more secure and ready for acting in case of the arrival of the Portuguese fleet; but reports of everything were regularly brought to him, and he directed all the operations. The pieces of artillery furthest from the fort were one hundred and fifty, and the nearest, sixty paces distant from it, all protected by heavy mantlets. Between the artillery and the fort the Turks were stationed in trenches so excavated, that the Portuguese artillery could not annoy them, and the earth thrown up served as breast-works behind which they retired. The bombardment commenced on the 4th October, and did much damage to the portions of the fort intended to be breached. The skill of some of the Turkish gunners was such that they never missed their mark, and was put to the test by placing a hat on a pole arranged like the figure of a man, which a ball struck and knocked down at once. In this manner the Portuguese diverted the attention of the enemy away from the point, where they were working at the repairs of the wall. The portion of the fort most assailed and damaged was a rampart commanded by Gaspar de Sousa, which the Turks attempted to scale on the sixth day of the siege, but were repelled with great loss. On the 16th of October, whilst Gonzalo Falcão was working at the rampart under his command which also the Turks had greatly damaged, his head was clean blown off by a cannon-ball, leaving the trunk among his companions, and Paio Rodrigues de Arango was appointed to take his place. The death of Gonzalo Falcão was much felt by all, on account of his good character, the aid he gave by his sound advice in council, and the service he did the State by supporting many persons at his own expense during the siege.

That same morning the Turks again attacked Gaspar de Sousa, slaying in the first assault three, and wounding seven or eight men, among whom was also one João de Fonseca, hit by a musket-ball in the right arm; but valiant man that he was, he took his lance in his left hand, and continued to fight as if nothing had happened.

The combat was very hot that day, but the Portuguese nevertheless several times entered the trenches of the Turks, in order to relieve the garrison of some of those who obstinately escalated the ramparts and attempted to gain a footing there. In spite, however, of the numerous sorties undertaken to eject the Turks from the trenches, which were now advanced very close to the fort, the defence became desperate, because the walls had been so much battered that it was an arduous labour to repair them.



Some of the bravest cavaliers were dead, and many wounded, and in need of care, the stores of powder for the cannons and muskets were drawing to a close, as well as the provisions and everything else needed for the defence; even the lances were getting unserviceable from constant use. The hope that the Viceroy would send reinforcements was gradually disappearing, and the expectation that the captains of other forts would send some necessary things was disappointed. Simão Guedes, the captain of Chaul, had indeed despatched a cargo of gunpowder, but so badly packed, that water penetrated into it, and it was found to be entirely useless when disembarked. Another and most unfortunate calamity was a kind of scurvy which attacked the garrison, so that many had sore mouths, and rotten gums, and lost their teeth, and, being obliged to work at the repairs of the walls, to fight and to watch, they spent the little time they had for rest, in groaning; they ate with great difficulty, and subsisted only on a small quantity of rice. The origin of this malady was attributed to the water of the cistern which the people drank. Owing to the fact that when the siege was apprehended, and it became necessary to finish the cistern quickly and to fill it with water, a bitumen or mortar prepared in Ormuz and called "charu" was used for cementing the reservoir and corrupted the water.

There were also many women in the fort of Diu who had taken refuge in it when the town was evacuated at the beginning of the war. One of these ladies was Dona Isabel de Veiga, daughter of a noble citizen of Goa, called Francisco Ferrão, late judge of the custom house, and wife of Manoel de Vasconcelles according to De Barros, a brave noble, born at Madeira, and judge at the custom house of Diu, but, according to Manuel de Faria-i-Sousa, a surgeon whom she aided in the labours of the siege; the heroic patriotism of this woman, which became a noble example to many others of her sex, and an encouragement in their labours, is not to be allowed to fall into oblivion. She was yet young, but gained the esteem of every body; when Antonio da Silveira sent back the catur in which Joao de Cordova had come with the news of the arrival of D. Garcia de Noronha, the new Viceroy, her husband, Manoel de Vasconcelles, wished to send her back to Goa to her father, for fear of her falling into the hands of the Turks if the fort should be taken by them. He informed her of his intention, but she assured her husband that she desired to remain, and that, if she had shown any signs of cowardice, he might reprove her, but should not inflict upon her so severe a punishment, which she thought she had not deserved; in his company the perils of the siege would not appear to her so great, but when deprived of his society, fears would



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constantly torment her mind, and if she could be of no other use in the siege, she might nurse the wounded in the infirmary. These reasons convincing her husband, she remained in the fort; and, as the number of combatants had become greatly diminished and they were divided by the necessity of fighting at various points, making repairs, carrying earth and stones, and performing other duties, the women heroically made offers to relieve the combatants in all these labours, to enable them to apply their whole strength in fighting, and they were gratefully accepted. Another lady who was of great use in the siege, and governed all the rest of them in concert with Isabel da Veiga, was Anna Fernandés, the aged and honoured wife of the Bachelor of Arts, João Lorenzo Fysico; her energy exceeded by far that of the other women; she encouraged them in their labours, and was very kind to the wounded and the sick on whom she attended. These duties were, however, not sufficient to engage the whole energy of Anna Fernandés; the night was no signal for her to take rest, and she patrolled the ramparts to see whether the men were at their posts. When an assault took place, moreover, she rushed with the courage of a man among the combatants to incite them. One day she stepped on to a bulwark, just after a fight had taken place, and found there the body of her son, a lad eighteen years old, but a valiant soldier, who had been struck in the head by a musket-ball. She embraced him, and, taking him in her arms, removed him from the spot, and having buried him when the strife had ceased, she continued, in spite of her immense grief, to the astonishment of all, who loved her like a mother, her pious labours among the wounded, apparently with the greatest composure.

As the Turks had attacked the bulwark of Gaspar de Sousa more than the others, they had rased a portion of it almost to the ground. They also pushed their trench so far, that it reached the fosse in front of the bulwark. Having progressed so far, they began to undermine the bulwark, in which attempt, however, they lost many men. They

The Turks endeavour to mine the bulwark of Gaspar de Sousa, who is slain, and the besieged are much distressed.

used for the purpose machines of planks, broad below and narrow above, covered with ox-hides, under each of which five or six men were sheltered whilst those on the narrow top protected it and fought. When the Turks perceived this invention of theirs to be of little use, because the Portuguese threw powder-pots, oil and fire-brands upon it and burnt the machines, they took cover under the roof of their trench, which they had pushed into the fosse. Being thus sheltered and crowded, the Turks were surprised by about seventy men, who scrambled down from the bulwark, and rushed in, striking and killing; but



they were soon reinforced. On the other side too Gaspar de Sousa arrived with another band of Portuguese, and ventured into the trench. When, however, he came out again, he was surrounded by a number of Turks, against whom he defended himself valiantly, even after being maimed in the legs and having lost much blood. He was slain, and the Turks cut off his hands and feet; paraded his head on a lance in triumph about all their posts, and threw his body out on to the plain, where it was afterwards found, recognised, and honorably interred. Antonio da Silveira rallied the combattants who were with Gaspar de Sousa, and appointed Rodrigo de Proenza, a man of tried valour and endurance, to be captain of the bulwark; having also learnt that the mine of the Turks had not entered further than half the thickness of the bulwark, he cleared away the rubbish and soil on the opposite side, and drove a counter-mine.

The Turks also damaged several houses, which were, however, repaired by throwing up earthworks to protect the walls. Whilst they were engaged in this work of destruction, Antonio de Sousa, who commanded on the sea-bulwark, harrassed them considerably. Nevertheless, the Portuguese, who were being attacked day and night, and were considerably reduced in numbers, could scarcely obtain any rest, and, in order to gain it, had recourse to an artifice. There was a piece of smooth ground where the Turks generally posted themselves when they wished to make an attack; and on it the Portuguese spread a great quantity of burning faggots. They kept up the smoke and fire by constantly feeding it, and the heat, united to that of the sun, was so great, that it incommoded even the besieged; but this was the only contrivance by which they could get any relief. It was not, however, of long duration, for the Turks, being hindered by the fire from approaching the fort, now no longer directed their artillery against it, but against the faggots, in such a manner as to drive the burning embers upon the bulwark. This caused some distress to the Portuguese, but the faggots were gradually extinguished in spite of the efforts of Rodrigo de Proenza to keep up the fire by feeding it with fuel, and the Turks renewed their attacks. As soon as the fire was extinguished, a number of Turks rushed upon the bulwark, throwing in many powder-pots and rockets, whereon the besieged hastened to bring as much water as they could, to prevent the explosion of the powder-pots, and the captains, with their men, abandoning their posts, came down to the platform where the repairs had been undertaken, and attacked the Turks so fiercely, that they precipitated many into the ditch, killed forty of them and wounded a large number, whilst of the Portuguese four only lost their



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lives, and twenty-five were wounded. Among the latter were Francisco de Gouvea, whose hands, feet and face were so burnt that he could not be recognized, Manoel de Vasconcelles, who received two arrow-wounds in the face, and Duarte Mendes; but these and other brave men, although badly wounded, fought as if they had not been hurt.

The day after this combat, which was the 26th of October, four catur, sent from Goa by the Viceroy D. Garcia, and manned by only twenty-eight men, arrived. They brought neither gunpowder, of which the fort stood most in need, nor provisions, but were joyfully received, because the men were known for their courage. The catur arrived at two o'clock in the morning, but, from the torches that were lit, and the noise made to welcome them, the Turks suspected their arrival, and thought that the besieged had received a large reinforcement. Khájah Safar knew very well that, when Suleymán Pasha arrived, the garrison numbered not more than six hundred combatants, many of whom had since perished or been disabled, that their artillery was not considerable, and that some of it had burst; lastly, that, as the reinforcements had arrived only in rowing vessels, they could not have been large ones; but Pasha Suleymán was greatly vexed at having lost so many of his troops, and that whenever they attacked the fort they had been repelled with great loss. He was also disgusted with Khájah Safar for having induced him to waste the strength of his fleet upon the siege of Diu, whereas his master, the Sultán of Turkey, had sent him to break the supremacy of the Portuguese on the sea; and, having already, after taking the Rúmy suburb, been informed by Antonio Falleiro that the Viceroy was expected to arrive with a fleet at a stated time, which had elapsed, he ordered the unfortunate man to be beheaded.

On the 29th October the Turks prepared to make an assault upon the sea-bulwark, which they had already so battered, that they concluded the breach would be practicable. They accordingly detached fifty barges from their galleys and galeots, upon which they embarked seven hundred men, commanded by Mahmúd Qayam Beg. At break of day the sound of many clarions was heard, and the barges hove in sight, but they were received with discharges of artillery which sank two of them. The others landed, and immediately entered the breach, where Antonio de Sousa with his companions repulsed them twice by throwing rockets and other fire-works upon them. The third time Qayam Beg himself, who led the assault bravely, was struck by the ball of an arquebuse, and died the next day. In this contest forty Turks lost their lives and many were wounded, but of the defenders



only two were killed, and five wounded. When the Turks retired, the tide was ebbing, and, as there was not room for all in the barges, two of them having been sunk, some were per force struggling in the water; perceiving which, Antonio da Silveira sent a country-boat, with some men, to save them; they, however, instead of doing this, remembered only the injuries they had received from the Turks, and killed them all except two, whose lives they spared, because of the shouts from the bulwark, and brought them in alive.

The Turks now had recourse to a stratagem, and the next day, which was the 30th October, pretended to raise the siege and to depart, their real intention being, however, no longer to waste their forces in small assaults, as they had hitherto done, but to make one grand attack and take the fort by storm. In the morning they made no assault, but merely fired at the walls, according to their usual custom, in order to interrupt the repairs of the bulwark, and destroy the quarters of the Commandant and a portion of those of Sousa Continho. In the afternoon of the same day, more than a thousand men left their positions with their banner in sight of the fort, and, passing through the suburb of the Rûmys, crossed the plain, from which they embarked in the portion of the fleet stationed there, to make the Portuguese believe that they had raised the siege, and, to deceive them still more, they sailed away into the open sea. Antonio da Silveira was, however, too wary, and made every provision for resisting an attack. He went his rounds during the night, and in the second watch, when the moon had set, a sentry informed him that he heard sounds, as if people were trying gently to remove some wood at the foot of the wall. Antonio da Silveira ordered a powder-pot immediately to be let down, and by the light which it emitted, Turks were perceived applying ladders in several spots for the purpose of escalading the walls. The commandant knew that the sides where his quarters and those of Lopo de Sousa stood, would be scaled first, because they were the most battered, and ordered the musketeers to fire only when they were sure of their men, but those with lances and other arms to block the breaches and door ways.

The Turks, four thousand in number, commanded by the naval captain Yusuf Hámed and Behráin Beg, two brave and well tried men, were drawn up close to the fort, and in their rear ten thousand Guzeratis led by Alu Khán and Khájah Safar. The action began with irregular firing, but afterwards the artillery was chiefly directed on the point of the bulwark where the assault was to take place, and, the command for it having been given with much noise of drums and clarions, a rush was made upon



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the quarters of the Commander. The Portuguese were at first very sparing with their musketry, and confined their efforts to the throwing of powder-pots, rockets, and other missiles into the thickest of the crowd. The Turks managed, however, to plant their red standard, and a fearful struggle ensued, which lasted four hours, till the Turks were at last repulsed, after losing more than five hundred of their men, with a great number of wounded. Of the Portuguese fourteen men were killed, and more than two hundred dangerously wounded, so that not more than forty able to bear arms remained.

Before describing the manner in which the Turks left Diu, it will be well to allude to the causes which induced them to sail

The Turks raise the  
siege and depart.

away, as well as to the state of the fort and its garrison. When the Turks retired from the fort, after the combat just mentioned, it was in a most miserable condition. The majority of its defenders had been killed, and the remainder wounded, excepting only forty men as said above. The powder for the cannons had all been spent and the magazines swept clean, and that for the muskets consisted only of the cartridges each man had remaining in his pouch. The lances were all broken and served only as crutches to support the wounded. The walls of the fort presented a pitiable sight, being all in ruins from having been constantly battered by artillery, and the houses, from which it became necessary to remove stones, because the ramparts had constantly to be repaired, looked as if they had been shaken to pieces by an earthquake. The besieged met signs of desolation wherever they cast their eyes, except only in the person of the Commandant, Antonio da Silveira, whose courage remained undaunted and inspired them with hope. His vigilance never abated even after the retirement and embarkation of the Turks which he surmised to be perhaps a mere stratagem, as when they made their last assault. He again repaired the weak points of the fort, heaped up quantities of loose stones to be hurled at the foe, posted the few remaining musketeers on the walls, and, to make a show of numbers, caused not only the serviceable, but also the wounded, men to walk about on the ramparts, and it is stated that on this occasion some women were likewise armed.

The Turks had lost many men, their ammunition was much diminished, provisions were getting scarce, and Suleymán Pasha began to distrust the Guzeratis, because he knew that they were not well disposed towards the Turks. This was, however, only the result of his own haughty bearing, and of the misbehaviour of his officers, in consequence of which—as we have already narrated above—Alu Khan had, after the very first interview, kept



aloof from the Turks, only returning afterwards when the siege began. The natives also concluded from the saddles washed ashore that the Turks meant to wage war by land, and perhaps to subjugate the province of Cambay. This suspicion was increased when Suleymán Pasha sent an envoy to the Sultán of Guzerat and to his governors with the information that he had come to avenge the death of the Sultán, Bahádur Shah, and with the commission to purchase at Ahmadabad as many horses as possible. These governors detained the envoy forty or fifty days without his being admitted to an audience with the Sultán, or allowed to buy even a single horse. The Sultán wrote to Alu Khan and to Khájah Safar to do their utmost to capture the fort of Diu for him and not for the Turks, because their haughtiness would be more difficult to bear than the dominion of the Portuguese. It is also worth mentioning that Khájah Safar was greatly annoyed—although he was too astute to show it—by the treatment he received at the hands of Suleymán Pasha, who ordered him about as if he had been his slave, and therefore vowed vengeance against him.

Khájah Safar knew very well that after one more assault similar to the last, the fort would most certainly be taken; but of this the Pasha, who had become more and more suspicious of the natives, and isolated in every respect, was not aware, or he could not have been deceived by him. Khájah Safar, in short, forged a letter as being addressed to himself by the Governor of Surat, and informing him that thirty Portuguese ships had arrived in that port from Bassein, belonging to the fleet anchored there, which consisted of one hundred and fifty sail, with six thousand soldiers on board, destined for the relief of the fort of Diu. This letter Khájah Safar gave to a servant, with orders to sail with it in a boat from Madrefabat to Diu, and if the Turks should capture him, to say that he was coming from Surat. The servant obeyed, and, being perceived by the Turks, was forthwith ushered into the presence of the Pasha, who ascertained that he had brought a letter for his master. Accordingly Khájah Safar was called and the letter given to him. He perused it and pretended to be much distressed at its contents, but communicated them to Suleymán Pasha, as he said they were of great importance. Suleymán Pasha probably at once determined to raise the siege, but he feigned great indifference about the matter, gave out that he would make a grand attack upon the fort next morning, had a very noisy entertainment that night, and granted leave to Khájah Safar to depart. The latter, however, soon made his appearance again with the information that he had heard the firing of guns in the direction of Madrefabat; and he spoke



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the truth, for, as will be narrated further on, certain fustas, in command of Antonio da Silveira and despatched by the Viceroy Don Garcia to Diu, were just then arriving, and desired by firing their guns to inform the garrison of their approach from a distance. This circumstance, however, served to corroborate Khájah Safar's letter, and the Turks believed that a whole fleet of ships would soon arrive. Pasha Suleymán now wished to hasten his departure, but, being totally unaware of the miserable plight in which the small garrison of the fort was, and apprehending that a display of power would be necessary to the last, that very night ordered some of his artillery to be arranged in batteries, and troops to be posted as if preparing for a renewal of hostilities.

The next day, which was the festival of All Saints, and which the Portuguese believed to be the last of their lives, they were determined to die a honorable death and prepared for the fight; but the morning dawned very quietly, without the usual discharges of artillery, and without their perceiving any of the troops of the besiegers. This appeared strange, and they almost believed that they were dreaming. Antonio da Silveira, however, continued vigilant, as usual, and found in the afternoon of the same day that the posts abandoned by the Turks were now occupied by the troops of Khájah Safar. Accordingly he caused the alarm for attack to be sounded now and then, to conceal the weakness of his garrison, and to hinder the natives from attempting to continue the undertaking which the Turks had failed to accomplish. He sent out Antonio da Veiga with twenty-five men to destroy the trench which had been pushed as far as the ditch of the fort; this party entered the trench and met a few men whom they put to flight, and, whilst they were doing so, a soldier arrived with the information that he had found a large cannon in a deserted bastion, where the Turks had left also one of their banners still standing. Antonio da Veiga went and took the latter, but found that the cannon had burst and was therefore useless. Meanwhile a Musalman fired at him with his musket from a considerable distance, and he fell dead.

The Turks were taking in water for their ships, but, being attacked by the natives, had to fight for it, and on each side several men lost their lives. They set sail, however, on the 5th November 1538, and, finding that some of their wounded men could not stand the voyage, they sent them on shore again. That same night two fustas of the seven commanded by Antonio da Silveira—who, as we have above mentioned, had reached Madrefabat—arrived at Diu, bringing soldiers and many other necessities. It is more than probable that these fustas, or rather their



commanders, were afraid to sail into Diu before the Turkish fleet was fairly out of sight on its voyage to the Red Sea. Such was the end of this memorable siege, which the small garrison of Diu had to sustain almost totally unaided by the other Portuguese forts. No reinforcements were sent from Goa when most needed, but Manuel de Faria-i-Sousa informs us in his "*Asia Portuguesa*," vol. II., p. 13, that, after the departure of the Turks, the Viceroy Don Garcia de Noronha himself arrived in the port of Diu with fifty vessels (*cincuenta baxeles*), applauded the prowess of Antonio da Silveira, and repaired the fort, which had suffered much from the late struggle. De Barros informs us that on the same night on which the Turks sailed, Khájah Safar set the town on fire at eleven o'clock at several points, and, after witnessing the conflagration, also departed with his troops.

E. REHATSEK.



**ART. V.—PATNA, DURING THE LAST DAYS OF THE MAHOMEDANS.**

**V**ERY few of those who now visit the city of Patna, with its rows of tiled mud-huts extending more than eight miles in length, are aware that there are buried within its dirt and dust, places of high historical interest; that many of the families living within its walls (now crumbled to the dust) in a state of poverty and decay, took a by no means unimportant part in the events of the past, and that the city was, not more than one hundred and thirty years ago, the scene of incidents which do not appear probable from its present unattractive look. Yet if they were to turn to the pages of the Mahomedan historians of the period, they would know that the city was the coronation place of two Great Moghuls; that it had, more than once, for its Subahdar, princes of the royal blood, who held their splendid courts within its walls; that its Mitapur Talao, was the place where on several occasions, whole armies encamped; and its Bang Jafar Khan and its environs had more than once, borne the brunt of hostile and invading armies; that the city itself was sacked, no more than a hundred and twenty-five years ago, by a desperate band of Afghans.

We propose to give in the following pages an account of Patna, during the last days of the Mahomedans.

Shaista Khan was a zealot and an iconoclast, altogether after the heart of his master, the Emperor Arangzeb, who appointed him Subahdar of Behar in 1664 A. D. Almost the first act of the new Subahdar was to collect the Jazia (capitation-tax) from the Hindus, and the partiality shown by him towards his co-religionists is said by the Mahomedan historians themselves to have been beyond all measure of justice.\* Arangzeb recalled him to Delhi in 1678 A. D., appointing his third son Prince Muhammad Azim in his stead; but in the very next year Prince Muhammad Azim was recalled and Shaista Khan re-appointed Subahdar of Behar. In 1697 A. D. Prince Azimulshan, the second son of Prince Sultan Muazim, the eldest son of Arangzeb, was appointed by his grandfather Viceroy of Bengal and Behar; but, considering the youth and inexperience of the Prince, the Emperor thought fit to leave the Dewany of Bengal in the hands of Murshid Kuli Khan. Prince Azimulshan and his young advisers

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\* The Musjid of Khaph Serai Katra attached to the Mosque, still Khaph Ebroos and the Katra (range of shops) known as Shaista Khan's Khan. attest to the pious zeal of Shaista Khan.



did not like the sage counsel of Murshid Kuli. There was an apparent clash, and the Emperor Arangzeb, who had a high regard for the wisdom of Murshid Kuli Khan, wrote to the Prince to say, that if in future there should be any rupture between the Prince and Murshid Kuli, the Prince would find himself mistaken in calculating on his royal descent. This sharp reprimand irritated the Prince, and his constant association with Murshid Kuli Khan became very distasteful to him.

Leaving Murshidabad for good, the Prince came up to Behar, and settled at Patna, where he improved the fortifications and built splendid palaces for his residence. Husainali Khan, one of the Syeds of Barrah, who took such a memorable part in events during the reigns of the last Moghuls, was then his lieutenant in Behar, and this was the time, the historians say, when the city of Patna, attained the zenith of its splendour. Many of the nobles of Delhi came out to live within its walls. The city was divided into a number of wards. All classes of people had separate quarters assigned to them. Dewan Mohalla was so named, because it was assigned to the clerks of the Government offices; the quarters assigned to the Lodis (Afghans) came to be known as Lodikatra Mohalla; those allotted to the Moghuls, as Moghulpara; and the princes and chiefs had their residence assigned to them in Mohalla Khowah Sekho, or, as it is otherwise called, Khowah Khoh. The poor and destitute were not forgotten; and several serais and alms-houses were built for their reception. But it was not till the year 1704 A.D., that the Prince changed the name of the city from Patna to "Azimabad," after his own name. It is said that he intended to make the city a second Delhi; but, as the Mahomedan historians exclaim, vain are the hopes of men. In 1707 the Prince received news of the serious illness of the Emperor, and, thinking his presence necessary in the capital to look to the interest of his father in case of accidents, he went away to Delhi with the ostensible object of looking after the health of Arangzeb, leaving Patna in charge of Husainali Khan, the Naib Nazim. The contest that took place amongst his three sons, for the succession to the throne on the death of Arangzeb; how the eldest Prince Sultan Muazim, with the help of his son Azimulshan got the best of his brothers and ascended the throne under the title of Bahadur Shah; how, the other princes were jealous of the great influence which Prince Azimulshan had acquired in his father's court; how, on Bahadur Shah's death in 1716 A. D., a dispute again arose between his four sons for the succession to their father's throne; how in the battle of Lahore, on the eve of victory, Prince Azimulshan's elephant ran away from the battle-field and threw him into the Ravee, where he



was drowned, and how, after this, Maqzudin Jehandar Shah ascended the throne, are matters of general history. The first thought of Jehandar Shah, on ascending the throne, was to rid himself of his brothers, and the other princes of the royal blood. Sultan Karimudin, the eldest son of Prince Azimulshan, had accompanied his father to Delhi; but the second son, Sultan Ferok Sher, and the ladies of his harem remained at Murshidabad. Sultan Karimudin was put to death by Jehandar Shah, who then wrote to Murshidkuli Khan, Subahdar of Bengal, and Husainali Khan of Behar, to send Ferok Sher and his family to him at Delhi.

Murshidkuli Khan saw at once what was meant, and, taking compassion on the Prince, told him that he would not be the instrument of his death by handing him over to his enemy; but that he was powerless to defend him against the Emperor; and asked him to leave Bengal and seek safety in flight. Ferok Sher started by water for Behar. On his arrival at Patna he landed at Bang Jafar Khan with his family. The Prince's arrival occasioned much perplexity to Husainali Khan, Subahdar of Behar, who at once presented himself before him, showed him the urgent orders he had received from Delhi for his despatch, and advised him to leave Behar. Ferok Sher began to weep, and, in a state of great helplessness, told him that, relying on his character as a Syed and a soldier, he had come up to him for protection, and asked him where he was to go to with his little children when he refused him shelter. Husainali Khan did not know what to do, when all at once there came out of the ladies' tents, Malika Zamani, daughter of Ferok Sher, a girl only five years old, and seating herself on his knee, with half hissing words, implored him to save her father's life. The ladies of the harem, from behind the *pardah*, did the same. This decided the compassionate Syed, who, remarking that he had nothing but his bare sword wherewith to cope with the lord of Delhi, placed it unreservedly at the service of Ferok Sher. Ferok Sher stood up in joy and presented the Syed with his own sword. Husainali Khan knew that no time was to be lost, and set out at once for the city, where he borrowed large sums of money from the mohajuns to defray the expense of raising an army on promise of repayment on Ferok Sher's accession to the throne. Crowds of fakirs and attendants of Khankhas now assembled at Bang Jafar Khan, and raised the cry of 'God bless the Emperor.' Ferok Sher promised them splendid gifts in case of his obtaining the throne, and the historians say, that as, unlike other princes of the earth, he did not neglect to faithfully carry out his promise, *madadmashes* were actually showered on the fakirs of Patna.



when he ascended the throne.\* An auspicious day was fixed on which Ferok Sher was brought in great state within the fort, where he was proclaimed Emperor of Delhi. The Amirs and nobles of the city, who were afraid of the power of their Subahdar, Husainali Khan, presented *nazars* and swore allegiance to the new Emperor. It is said, that, by a lucky chance, Ferok Sher came, at this time, by an immense treasure trove. Syed Abdullah, of Barrah, brother of Husainali was then Subahdar of Allahabad. Husainali's defection left him no other alternative but to declare for Ferok Sher. Thus assisted by the two Syeds, Ferok Sher set out for Delhi, and, in the battle of Agra, defeated the forces of Jehandar Shah, who had advanced to oppose his march. Ferok Sher now became Emperor of Delhi, and the two Syeds acquired unbounded influence.† On Ferok Sher's accession to the throne, numbers of destitute people from the city of Patna went up to Delhi, and, most of the nobles whom Prince Azimul Shan had settled at Patna, returned to the capital. Husainali Khan, at the time of his departure with Ferok Sher for Delhi, had left Behar in charge of Syed Nasrat Yar Khan, one of his relatives; but shortly afterwards, the Syeds, with the view of getting rid of Mir Jumla, of whose rising influence in court they were afraid, deputed him to Behar, as Subahdar, in place of Syed Nasrat Yar Khan. Mir Jumla did not like his new situation, and left for Delhi without orders. Thus followed a period of strife in Delhi during which the affairs of Behar were left unsettled. The Syeds, at last, set up Mohamad Shah as Emperor of Delhi, and sent Fakirul Daula to Behar as their lieutenant. This was in the Hegiri year 1140. Fakirul Daula's lieutenancy lasted five years, and it is said that within this period he perpetrated more than one outrage on the noble families of Patna. Seikh Abdulla, an Amir of much respectability and position, was subjected to such indignities that he went away to his Jaghir of Sowaha near Sonepur, for fear of further molestation, and built there a small mud fort where he took up his residence, but, not deeming himself safe even in this retreat, he fled to Delhi. Many were the outrages to which

\* This was the secret of how, when the Dewany passed into the hands of the East India Company, a great part of the lands of this province were found to be held under a Madadmash title.

† They made Ferok Sher, Rafi-uddarafat, Rafiuddaulah and Muha-

mad Shah Emperors; they dethroned and killed Jehandar Shah, and Ferok Sher whom they had moreover blinded; and they blinded and imprisoned princes A'azzudin Alitabar and Humayan Bakht, (Blockman's Ayeen Akbari, p. 391).



the Subahdar subjected the defenceless members of his family. The Jaghirs of several other nobles were attached and their owners turned out. All these men went away with their complaints to Delhi. In the meantime Muhammad Shah, whom the Barah Syeds had set up, asserted his authority, and succeeded in depriving the Syeds of their extensive and dangerous power. Amirul Umra Asmushan Daulah, a favorite of the Emperor, had now much influence in court. The Patna refugees, to several of whom he was related, applied, to him for help; orders were at once sent dismissing Fakirul Daulah and annexing the Subha of Behar to that of Bengal. Behar thus passed into the hands of Suja-ul-Daulah, Subadar of Bengal, and has remained ever since an appanage of the government of that province.\* Suja-ul-Daulah was the son-in-law of Murshid Kuli Khan. He appointed Mirza Muhammad Ali Verdi Khan, one of his personal friends, then of very little note, his lieutenant in Behar. He also got him enrolled as an Amir of the court of Delhi and procured for him the title of "Muhabat Jang." Ali Verdi Khan, better known to the Mahomedan historians, as Muhabat Jang had no sons, but two daughters, who were married to two sons of his elder brother Hazi Ahmad. These sons-in-law are better known under their titles of Shahamat Jang and Hlabat Jang. Hazi Ahmad had a third son who was known as Sohabut Jang. The day on which Muhabat Jang had the good fortune to be appointed Nalb Nazim of Behar, was signalized by another event, then considered very fortunate in his family, the birth of a son to his youngest daughter, the wife of Hlabat Jang. The new-born babe was named Mirza Muhammad, the future Seraj-ul-Daulah of the History of Bengal. Muhabat Jang associated his rise and the smiles of fortune with the birth of Seraj-ul-Daulah, and, as he had no sons, Seraj-ul-Daulah became his special favorite.

On assuming the administration of this province, Muhabat Jang's first care, was to bring the unruly zemindars under his control; and, with this view, he fomented quarrels between them till they grew weak by mutual dissensions, and easily yielded

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\* Fakirul Daulah, though reputed to be tyrannical in his treatment of the Mahomedan nobles, appears to have been a pious Mahomedan. He built a masjid which is still standing. It is only about one hundred and twenty-five feet from the city Chawk. It is yet periodically re-

paired at the expense of the Nawab Nazim of Murshidabad, and the rents of a range of shops (Katras) are appropriated towards its current expenses. For the identification of this and other buildings, the writer is indebted to Munshi Oll Ahmed's history of Behar.



to his superior force. The respectable classes of the population he attached to him by many kindly offices, and the help he used to afford the needy, secured him their dependence. He inspired terror in all evil-doers, by putting to death Abdul Karim, an unruly Afghan Amir.

The Bhojpur zemindars of Shahabad were always noted for their uncontrollable spirit, and their love of independence. They had never, in fact, submitted to any of the Subhadars till Muhabat Jang brought them entirely under his control. The revenue which the Emperors of Delhi derived from their Subah of Behar was not much; it had risen to about twenty lakhs of rupees during the time of Ferok Sher; but it speedily rose to thirty lakhs during the first years of the administration of Muhabat Jang. No new taxes were imposed to raise this increased revenue. The increase was simply due to proper collections; those zemindars who had hitherto evaded payment, being now compelled to pay. Suja-ul-Daulah died in 1739 A. D. The Moghul Empire had at this time been reduced to such a pitch of weakness, that even the farce of a nomination from Delhi was not gone through by his successor and son, who at once placed himself on the masnad of the Subahs of Bengal and Behar. The new Nizam, Sarfaráz Daulah by name, son of Suja-ul-Daulah, and daughter's son of Murshid Kuli Khan, was totally ignorant of the art of governing a State. His youth and inexperience brought about him a set of youthful advisers as inexperienced as himself; and he disdained the counsel of the wise and experienced statesmen who held important appointments during his father's administration. Haji Ahmed, brother of Muhabat Jang, lost all his influence at court, and took every opportunity of strongly denouncing the new *regime* in his letters to his brother. His brother's treatment at court offended Muhabat Jang. The family of Jagat Sett, bankers, who had always played an important part in the later history of the Mohamadans in Bengal, had also taken umbrage at the proceedings of the young Nizam and his advisers, and they sent to Muhabat Jang, promising their assistance. Muhabat Jang, however, sought to attain the object of his ambition under a legal title. He secretly obtained a firman appointing him Subahdar of Bengal and Behar from the court of Delhi, on a promise of paying annually to the Imperial Exchequer, a crore of rupees as the revenue of these provinces, as also such of the moveables of Sarfaráz-ul-Daulah as he could seize. With this firman in his pocket, he began to make preparations on an extensive scale for the coming struggle, giving out that he was doing so with the object of punishing the rebel zemindars of Bhojpur (Shahabad). On an



appointed, day he held a review of the troops near the Mitapur Talao. The commandants of the several forces were assembled, and Muhabat Jang told them how Sarfaráz-ul-Daulah was mis-managing the affairs of State, and how, owing to this reason, the Emperor had appointed him the Subahdar of these provinces. He then produced the royal firman and said, that, though the royal firman was in his hand, he could not obtain possession of the Subahs without war. He then added that the ladies of his harem and his relatives were now in durance at Murshidabad, and that nothing but a war would secure their freedom. He then told them that they were at liberty to do what they liked, but exhorted such of them as were ready to join him to swear on the Holy Koran not to forsake him and his cause till the last. All swore on the Koran to stand or fall by Muhabat Jang, who then marched with his powerful army towards Murshidabad, leaving Hiabat Jang, his son-in-law, with Syed Hidayat Ali Khan, the husband of his niece, as counsellor, in charge of the affairs of Subah Behar.

The advancing army met the forces under Sarfaráz-ul-Daulah at Gheriah, about 22 miles north of Murshidabad. In the battle which ensued, Sarfaráz-ul-Daulah was defeated and killed in the year 1740. Muhabat Jang thus became the undisputed ruler of Bengal and Behar. Hiabat Jang now ruled Behar, and Mahabat Jang procured for him a recognition of his appointment as Subhadar of Behar, from the court of Delhi. Hiabat Jang gave general satisfaction by the good management of the affairs of government. Rajah Sundar Sinha of Tikari, who played an important part in the affairs of State during those days, as also the zemindars of Tirbut, especially the new converts to the Moslem religion, called *Mians*, viz., Namdar Khan, Kamgar Khan, Ranmast Khan, Sirdar Khan, &c., all proprietors of large landed estates, became his attached friends. Many of the respectable residents of the city enlisted themselves as officers in Nawab Hiabat Jang's army. Syed Nisarali Khan, the younger brother of Syed Hidayat Ali Khan, and Syed Abdulali Khan, his nephew, were appointed to very high offices in the army, while Rai Chintáman received the appointment of Dewan. Shortly after assuming the administration of the province, Nawab Hiabat Jang had to lead in person a punitive expedition against the turbulent zemindars of Bhojpur. Horil Sinha and Udwant Sinha,\* two of these men, refused to pay their rents, and it was necessary to coerce them into doing so. There were some reasons

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\* This Udwant Sinha was the Sinha of Jagdishpur, grandfather of the notorious Koer.



to suspect that Roshan Khan, an Afghan, Governor of Shahabad, was in league with these men. The rebel zemindars were soon brought to their senses, but the Nawab stained his hands by treacherously putting to death Roshan Khan, who, on his entrance to the Nawab's Darbar, where he had been invited, was assaulted by Mir Kadratullah, Jemadar, and Husain Beg Khan Governor of Monghyr, under the secret instructions of the Nawab. Syed Mehdi Nisar Khan, who figures very often in the subsequently military expeditions of those days, first distinguished himself in this Bhojpur expedition.

It was at this time that the Mahrattas commenced their raids in Bengal and Behar. Their first incursion under Pundit Bhaskar, a general under Raghuji Bhonsla of Nagpur, caused Mahabat Jang much anxiety. He had not till then tested the strength of a Mahratta army. Of their military power he had simply heard by reputation. On being informed of their approach, he immediately applied to Hiabat Jang, his son-in-law for aid, as also to the effete Moghul Court at Delhi. Hiabat Jang marched to his aid without delay, leaving Syed Hidayat Ali Khan in charge of affairs at Patna. On the cessation of the rains, Mahabut Jang advanced to oppose the Mahrattas, defeated them in a pitched battle, and expelled them from his territories. When Muhabat's letter, asking for assistance, reached Delhi, the Darbar directed Nawab Safdar Jang, Subahdar of Oude, to advance with an army to his aid. On intelligence reaching Patna of the near approach of these men, the people of the place were much alarmed. They had heard much of the want of discipline of the troops and of their propensity to plunder. Their proceedings in the country through which they passed, were certainly not calculated to tranquillize the minds of the citizens of Patna. A panic prevailed, and the zemindars and the respectable portion of the population waited in a body on the Naib Nazim, asking him to put the city in a state of defence. Nawab Hidayat Ali Khan had not then, under his command, a sufficient number of men, and he sent to Safdar Jang, Murid Khan, an officer of Delhi, who had been deputed to Bengal to demand the payment of revenue to tell him how afraid the people of Patna were of his troops, and to ask him to encamp outside the city. Safdar Jang assured him that there was no cause for any alarm, and on this assurance Hidayat Ali Khan set out to welcome him. He met Safdar Jang at Manair, and accompanied the Oude chief to Patna. The forces encamped at Mitapur, but Safdar Jang ordered the Mehal Serai of Hiabat Jang to be vacated for the accommodation of his females. This order was deemed very harsh and arbitrary, as it necessitated the removal of the ladies of Hiabat



Jang's harem. Nor was Safdar Jang otherwise conciliatory in his manners. The Amirs of Azimabad, who went to visit him, received but very scant courtesy. He fancied some guns and war elephants of Hiabat Jang, and wanted to know their price. Hidayat Ali told him that neither he nor his master was a dealer in these things; that whatever belonged to Hiabat Jang, belonged of right to the Emperor of Delhi and his representatives; but, as he was there in charge as a servant, he was sorry he could not part with any thing without his master's order. Nawab Safdar Jang, however, carried them away. When the intelligence of these high-handed proceedings reached Hiabat Jang and Muhabat Jang, they were sorely annoyed. They immediately wrote to the Delhi Darbar that, as the Mahrattas had been routed, they were no longer in need of assistance. Safdar Jang was thereupon recalled and had to retire from Behar with his forces. Hidayat Ali Khan also came to be under a cloud. It was suspected that Nawab Safdar Jang's high-handed proceedings were induced by the weakness of Hidayat Ali Khan, that he was in collusion with him, and that he had made over the guns and elephants to him of his own accord; the Mahrattas, however, had not, till then, been wholly expelled from Bengal, and Mahabat Jang thought it prudent at the time to keep his own counsel. No sooner had the Mahrattas all gone than he sent out Rai Chintáman Dás to supersede Nawab Hidayat Ali Khan. Rai Chintámon Dás died soon after his arrival at Patna, and Patna was for some days without any administrative head. In the meantime, a new danger was at hand. The Peshwas of Puna had, in consideration of the receipt of *choul*, stipulated with the Emperor of Delhi to protect his territories, and, at the request of the Emperor, Ballaji Rao, the Mahratta leader, was advancing with 40,000 Mahrattas to drive the Mahrattas of Nagpur out of Bengal. But Mahrattas, whether friends or foes, were alike the terror of the countries through which they passed, and Ballaji Rao and his Mahrattas were not exceptions. Plunder followed in the train of his march, and those who showed the slightest symptoms of resistance were tortured and maltreated. Pergannahs, Oucha and Goa in the district of Gya, and the town of Daudnagar, the properties of Ahmed Khan Khorasani, whose grandfather had founded the town, were given up to plunder, and, if Ahmed Khan had not paid down a tribute of 50,000 Rupees to the Mahratta leader, his fort of Ghausgarh, where he had taken shelter with his family, would have shared the same fate. The citizens of Patna were very much alarmed on hearing this news; and they unanimously asked Nawab Syed Hidayat Ali Khan to take the reins of government into his hands. Several of the



citizens sent their families away to Hajipur, on the other side of the river. Naib Hidayat Ali Khan, the chief elect of Patna, had a friend, by name Govind Naik, a rich banker of Benares, who had received some obligation from him. This Govind Naik was a friend and relative of Ballaji. Nawab Hidayat Ali now applied to this man. Govind Naik met Ballaji and entreated him for the sake of the Nawab, of whose goodness he gave a glowing account, not to molest the people of Patna. Govind Naik's intercession had its effect. Ballaji wrote a letter to the Nawab, telling him how his praise had reached him, and sending him some presents of rare articles from the Deccan. He promised not to proceed *viâ* Patna, and accordingly went away to Bengal by the route of Tikari, Gya and Behar.

On the expulsion of the Mahrattas from Bengal, Hiabat Jang obtained leave to return to Behar. Rajah Kiratchand, Rai Royan, Alam Chand Dewan, and a son of Sujah-ud-Daulah, and other people of note followed him in his suite from Murshidabad. Before proceeding to Patna, Nawab Hiabat Jang visited Pergannahs, Sunaut, Tikari, Palamo, Seresh Kanta, Sherghotty, &c. South Behar, comprising these territories, was then under the special administrative charge of Nawab Hidayat Ali Khan, who was only detained at Patna on special duty. Hiabat Jang's object was to deprive Nawab Hidayat Ali Khan of this special charge, and to appoint Rajah Kiratchand in his stead. The zemindars of South Behar, especially Rajah Sundar Sinha of Tikari, were devoted and attached to Nawab Hidayat Ali, and Hiabat Jang had some trouble in persuading them to promise submission to Rajah Kiratchand. While he was thus engaged, news reached him of a fresh inroad of the Mahrattas. It thus became necessary for him to set out at once for Patna. On his arrival at the city gate, Nawab Hidayat Ali Khan went out to welcome him, and from the changed manners of Hiabat Jang, it soon became clear that Nawab Hidayat Ali Khan was under suspicion and in disgrace. Nawab Hidayat Ali Khan was, however, a man of spirit; and, though subsequently Hiabat Jang made some offers towards reconciliation, he could by no means be induced to stay at Patna, and went away to Delhi, where he spent the rest of his life.

As it was thought probable that the Mahrattas would try to take Patna, Hiabat Jang applied himself to the work of repairing the walls and improving the fortifications of the city. In many parts, the walls had crumbled down, and houses been built in their place. Hiabat Jang ordered these houses to be demolished, and, notwithstanding the loud clamour of the people at this proceeding, went on with his work. The Mahrattas, after all, did not come, but the people of Patna soon had occasion to find that Hiabat Jang



was not wrong in improving the defences of their city. While Hiabat Jang was yet engaged in Tirhut in one of those punitive expeditions which were at that time every now and then necessary against turbulent zemindars, to make them pay their rents, news reached him that Mustafa Khan, the Afghan, was advancing with a strong force towards Patna.

Mustafa Khan, had risen, by the favor of Muhabat Jang, to the eminent position of commander of his forces.

As he was now very powerful in the army, Muhabat Jang, in order to secure his co-operation during the first Mahratta raid, had promised him the Naib Subahdarship of Behar. The Mahratta driven out, Mustafa Khan sought the fulfilment of this promise; but Muhabat Jang had no idea of depriving Hiabat Jang of his Subah, and of really carrying out a promise which he had made in a moment of panic. He at first adopted a policy of tergiversation, and when this failed, sought to get rid of Mustafa Khan by sinister means; but Mustafa Khan was as shrewd as his master, and the result was an open rupture between the two. Mustafa Khan demanded and received payment of the arrears of his salary, amounting, it is said, to seventeen lakhs of rupees. He then set out ostensibly for Delhi; but really with the intention of usurping by force the Subah of Behar. He carried away with him, by force, all the ammunitions of war from the Nizamat magazines of Rajmehal, and when news of this reached Muhabat Jang, he had no doubt as to his real designs. A message by a fast courier was immediately despatched to Hiabat Jang, apprising him of his danger. Muhabat Jang wrote him to say, that, as he thought him (Hiabat Jang) unequal to a contest with Mustafa Khan, who had, by this time, some 15,000 or 16,000 Afghans under his command, his advice was that he should fly with his family, before the enemy, by way of Hajipur, to Murshidabad, and then they would, with their joint forces, teach Mustafa Khan a lesson which he would never forget. Hiabat Jang immediately set out for Patna, and held a council of the Amirs of his court at Bang Jafar Khan. Almost all of them advised flight; but Abdul Ali Khan was strongly opposed to the adoption of this pusillanimous course. Abdulla's bold advice accorded with the views of the intrepid Subahdar. At a further council of war, it was resolved to enlist men for the army, and to ask, without delay, the zemindars and rajahs of Behar, to come with their several contingents to Patna. In a short time a force of 15,000 or 16,000 fighting men assembled at Patna. Guns were mounted on the bastions of the city walls, and from the suburbs of Bang Jafar Khan to Katra Nizamuddin a strong barrier of artillery



was formed, to oppose the enemy's march. Nawab Abdul Ali Khan, Nawab Nagi Khan, Fakir-ud-Daula, Egidatt Maud Khan, brother of Amirkhan II, Subahdar of Kabul, Nawab Mehdi Nisar Khan, Ahmad Khan Khorasani, Sheikh Jehan Yar, Sheikh Hamidudin, Sheikh Amirullah, Khadim Husain Khan, Rajah Kirat Sinha, Rajah Ramnaraian, Rajah Sundar Sinha, Namdar Khan, Miah, Zemindar of Pergannah Narhat, Sirdar Khan, Kamgar Khan and Ranmast Khan, all noted Sirdars, received commands in the army. When all these preparations had been made, Hiabat Jang sent a deputation to Mustafa Khan. The deputation was composed of Haji Alam Kashmiri, Maulavi Tezali, Madaris (principal and professor) of Madrassa Saef Khan, and the Aga Azima (chief of Patna). They were to ascertain the views of Mustafa Khan and to take secret note of the strength of his forces. The deputation met Mustafa Khan at Monghyr. They told him, in the name of their master, that, if, on account of his recent rupture with Nawab Muhabat Jang, he was resolved to get away from his territories; there was nothing to prevent him from accepting the hospitality of Hiabat Jang, his old friend, and his good offices towards a reconciliation with the Nizam; that, if he had obtained a sanad for the Subahdarship of this province from the court of Delhi, he had simply to produce the same, and Hiabat Jang would be but too glad to leave it in his hands. Mustafa Khan replied that his object was neither to get away from the territories of the Nizam, nor to seek a reconciliation with him. That it was to take possession of Behar, and his sanad was the same which Muhabat Jang used in his quarrel with Sarfaraz Khan, *i.e.*, the sanad of superior force. Turning to Tezali, one of the members of the deputation, he asked, referring to the Shiah religion of the Naib Nazim, "Maulavi! If a pious Mahomedan meets at the same time in his way with Rafzis and Kafirs, whom is it his first duty to conquer?" The Maulavi said, that the Kafir ought to be the first object of attack; but Mustafa Khan dissented and said that the Rafzi was to him worse than a dog. He then politely dismissed the deputation. At Monghyr, he expelled Husain Khan, the governor, from the fort, and took possession thereof with all its munitions of war. He then advanced to Patna, where all preparations had been made to receive him. On the 17th day of the month of Safar, he reached Aman Bang, a suburb close to Bang Jafar Khan. Here he divided his forces into two columns. With the one Sirdar Balland Khan, a Rohilla chief, to whom he made over the command, was to advance in front; with the other, Mustafa Khan himself was to make a flank attack. The Rohilla chief advanced and took possession



of the strong military outposts, and, passing this barrier, began to loot the bazar. Some of the famous Sirdars of Hiabat Jang, who had the defence of the outposts, were killed. At first Mustafa Khan's attack on the flank succeeded according to his wish. It was directed against that part of Hiabat Jang's army which was under the command of Rajah Kirat Sinha. The impetuous attack of the veteran Afghans, now led by their chief, soon threw the raw levies of the Nawab into utter confusion. The son-in-law of Rajah Sundar Sinha was killed, and Rajah Kirat Sinha himself, on receiving a wound, took to flight; but Hiabat Jang, who was now watching the issue of events, seeing that all was lost, advanced with a few chosen friends, as intrepid as himself, to the front of the battle. Seeing him thus advance, Mustafa Khan ordered Hakim Shah, one of his friends, to repel the attack, and to take Hiabat Jang prisoner alive; but at this time the Mahout (driver) of the elephant on which Mustafa rode, received his mortal wound, and he fell down dead. On this Mustafa Khan jumped down and mounted his horse. A panic seized his men. They thought him dead, and forthwith took to flight in the greatest confusion. Mustafa Khan did what he could to rally them; but when all his efforts failed, he himself sought safety. The forces under Sirdar Balland Khan, now completely demoralized by the loot they had got, on seeing the column under Mustafa fly, also took to their heels. The victory of the day was doubtless with Hiabat Jang; but it was by no means a decisive one. No attempt was made to pursue the flying columns of Mustafa Khan's army, and nothing was done to dislodge them from their encampment at Aman Bang. A few days afterwards Mustafa Khan renewed the attack; but he received a wound in his right eye from a musketshot, and fell down senseless on the ground, and his men immediately took to flight. They thought him dead, and, carrying him in a dooley, fled by the side of the Jalkar, (marsh), on the south of the city of Patna, towards Mitapur. Here Mustafa Khan recovered his senses. They then fled to the Naubatpur and thence to Mohabatipur. Hiabat Jang pursued them to Mohabatipur, where Muhabat Jang, who had set out from Murshidabad to his aid, joined him. Mustafa Khan retreated rapidly with his forces to the Chunar fort, where he took shelter, and as it was thought that he would not renew his attack till the end of the rainy season, Muhabat Jang gave up the pursuit as useless, and returned to Patna. While returning to Patna, he demolished the Patan stronghold of Zamaniah. On his arrival at Patna, news reached him, that the Mahrattas under Raghuji Bhonsla, to whom Mustafa Khan,



at the time of his advance on Behar, had applied for aid, were now on their way to Bengal. Muhabat Jang immediately set out for Murshidabad, and Hiabat Jang began to prepare himself for a renewed attack on the part of Mustafa Khan.

Mustafa Khan, however, did not wait for the cessation of the rains; but, taking advantage of the fresh inroad of the Mahrattas, at once marched towards Behar. He was joined by Udwant Sinha, the turbulent zemindar of Jagdispur. Hiabat Jang, who was emboldened by his recent successes, advanced to Shahabad with a strong force to meet him. In a fight which took place at or about Arrah, Mustafa Khan was killed, and his men took to flight. Murtaza Khan, son of Mustafa Khan, who now took the lead, after doing his best to rally the flying forces, sought, his own safety in flight, leaving his father's dead body in the hands of the enemy. In the battle of Arrah Syed Ali Nagi Khan and Fakir-ud-Daulah, officers of the Nawab's army did excellent service. Hiabat Jang ordered Mustafa Khan's head to be cut off and his body to be cut in two. One half was suspended at the Pachim Darwaza (western gate), and the other at the Purab Darwaza (eastern gate) of Patna city.\*

Murtaza Khan, who had concealed himself in the stronghold of Magri Khoh after the battle, on hearing that the Mahrattas under Raghuji Bhonsla had again invaded Bengal, and were at that time in occupation of Cuttack in the Subah of Orissa, applied to them for aid.—Raghuji Bhonsla at once marched towards Behar, and, passing through Birbhum and Kharakpur, plundered Sheikhpura, then a considerable town. Proceeding westward, he crossed the Sone; and, being joined by the Afghans, he advanced to Pergannah Arwal. Muhabat Jang came in pursuit with 12,000 men, and, having joined his forces to those of Hiabat Jang, marched to encounter the enemy. At a short distance from Kasha Nabothpur the hostile armies met in 1158 Hegiri. A great fight ensued, and the Mahrattas and the Afghans were worsted. Muhammad Jafar Khan, the future Nawab Nazim of Bengal, and husband of the step-sister of Muhabat Jang, Shamsheer Khan, Sirdar Khan, Afghans in the Nawab's army, as also Hiabat Jang, his brother Sohabat Jang, Mehdi Nisar Khan, Abdul Ali Khan, Attaullah Khan, and Nagi Ali Khan greatly distinguished themselves in this battle. As the Bengal forces were then in Behar, the discomfited Mahrattas, acting on the instigation of one Mir Habub, a rebel Mahomedan chief who had taken shelter in their camp, set out for a fresh invasion of

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\* Pachim Darwaza and Purab of course, all traces of the ancient city Darwaza are still so called, though, are lost.



that rich province. Muhabat Jang marched in pursuit, and the Mahrattas dispersed at his bold advance.

It was at this time that the marriage of Seraj-ul-Daulah with the daughter of Muhammad Iraz, came off with great *éclat* at Murshidabad; but even at this season of rejoicing, the capital of Muhabat Jang was in a state of continued alarm. Shamsheer Khan, the Afghan, who, as has been seen, had greatly distinguished himself in the battle of Kasba Nabothpur, was sullen and discontented, and apprehensions were felt that he and the Afghans under him would mutiny. As soon as the festivities were over, Muhabat Jang discharged Shamsheer Khan and his Afghan band, after paying them all arrears of salary, amounting, it is said, to six or seven lakhs of rupees. Shamsheer Khan retired to his Jaghir in the district of Darbhanga. Hiabat Jang thought he would further his interests and grow more powerful than his brothers, in the quarrel which he saw impending on the death of Muhabat Jang, by taking into his service such an able general as Shamsheer Khan and his powerful band of Afghans. Acting on this view, he sought and obtained the permission of Muhabat Jang to do so, and began negotiating with the Afghan chief. The wily Afghan, who was seeking an opportunity of this kind, readily accepted his proposals, and, with his band of Afghan followers, came to the other side of the river, opposite Patna. Having, however, the fate of Roshan Khan Serai, of Shahabad, before him, and suspecting or beginning to suspect, a like treachery, he did not all at once venture out to this side of the river. In order to assure him, and to remove all suspicions of foul play, Hiabat Jang sent the Aga Azima (Chief of Patna), with Taki Ali Khan and Muhammad Askar Khan, to welcome him, and shortly afterwards he himself went over in his small pleasure boat to meet the Afghans. It is said that some of Shamsheer Khan's followers here asked permission of their master, in the Pasthu language, which the Nawab did not understand, to assassinate him; and it is to some extent inexplicable why Shamsheer Khan, whose subsequent acts prove that he harboured the intention of usurping the government of this Subah, by treacherously assassinating its chief, let slip the occasion while the prey was still in his hands. He greeted the Nawab with due honor, presented him with suitable *nazars*, and allowed him to return unmolested to the other side of the river. The Amir-ul Bahar, otherwise called the Darogah of the river, received orders to make arrangements for the crossing of the river, and Shamsheer Khan, on landing with his band of 3,000 Afghan soldiers, encamped at Bang Jafar Khan. It is said that,



on the first day after their landing, Sirdar Khan, with a few others, attended the Darbar, and secretly conveyed an intimation to the effect that the Afghan chief was afraid that, if his troops were to attend on the Nawab at a time when his other forces were in attendance, some unpleasant collision might arise. As if impelled by an irresistible doom, the Nawab did not see through their perfidy, and, having issued strict orders to his Sirdars and guard not to attend the Darbar, the next day he waited at his palace of Chalis Satun,\* almost alone, for the reception of Shamsheer Khan. Only a very few palace officers were there in attendance, namely, Muhammad Askar Khan, Mir Murtaza, Mir Badur-ul Daula, Murlidhar (herald), Ram Zani, the superintendent of the powder magazine, reported to have been a butcher by caste, and Sitaram, the superintendent of the arsenals. A few Chobdars were also present. Almost all these were unarmed. Mir Abdulla, of the Sufi sect, and Shah Bandehgi, a fakir, happened to be there at the time. Muhammad Askar Khan, with Mahtab Rai Khettri, was standing behind the masnad, where the Nawab was seated. Rajah Ramnaraian, Dewan, with a few clerks, was in the Daftarkhana of the palace. At first, one thousand Afghan horsemen presented themselves, and according to custom received the *pān* (betel) from the Nawab's hands and got leave to depart. Murad Sher Khan came next, with five hundred Afghans. Murad Sher Khan presented each of them by name to the Nawab. Each one, on being presented, gave a *nazar* and received *pān* (betel) from the hands of the Nawab. All this while the Nawab was eagerly enquiring as to when Shamsheer Khan would arrive. The court Harkara at last brought news that he had come as far as the Kotwali Chaubutra, at a short distance from the palace. All the space between Bang Jafar Khan and the Chalis Satun palace was now completely in the hands of the Afghans. Abdul Rasul Khan, an Afghan, was fixed upon by Shamsheer Khan, as the assassin, and he was to do his foul deed at the time of his being presented to the Nawab. It now came to his turn to be presented, and, as he received his *pān* (betel) from the hands of his intended victim, he trembled, and the *pān* fell from his hand. Hiabat Jang good humouredly told him, that, as the *pān* (betel) of his *kismet* (luck) had fallen down, he had better receive another. As, on saying this, he stretched his hand towards the

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\* Chalis Satun, the palace of now been levelled to the ground, forty pillars, which Hiabat Jang and no traces at present exist of this had newly rebuilt, was at the back once famous building of Patna. of Saif Khan's Mudrassa. It has



tray of betel, Abdul Rasul took out a hidden dagger from his waist and aimed his blow; but his hand was not steady, and the wound inflicted on the Nawab was not a deadly one. Muhammad Askar Khan cried out, "Treachery; murder." The Nawab was taking out his sword, when Murad Sher Khan, who saw that Abdul Rasul Khan's blow had not had the desired effect, aimed such a deadly blow with his sabre, that the cut went down from the shoulder-knot to the breast. The Nawab dropped down dead on the masnad, and Murad Sher Khan, by a fell cut, severed the head from the body. Mir Murtaza Khan, who did not observe all this, thinking that the Nawab was yet alive, threw himself over the Nawab to shield him from attack, but was instantly cut to pieces. Muhammad Askar Khan, seizing Hiabat Jang's sword, fought like a lion till he fell dead; Shah Nawaz Jan, a worthy citizen of Patna, Ram Zaul and Sitaram, also fell fighting against odds. Murlidhar Harkara was wounded, but escaped with his life by taking to flight. It is said, that, when flying, he came by chance on the Nawab's little casket of jewels, and this he carried away. Rajah Ramnarian and the clerks also saved themselves by flight. Mir Abdulla the Sufi, escaped; but Shah Bandegi, the fakir, preferred death to escape by flight. The city of Patna was filled with consternation at the news of this tragedy. Amina Begum, wife of Hiabat Jang, with her youngest son, Mirza Mehdi Bahadur, shut herself in her Mahal Serai; Syed Ali Khan, son of Syed Hidayat Ali Khan, who was betrothed to the daughter of Hiabat Jang and was being trained up in his family, was admitted by the Ataliks into the women's apartments, and thence, passing from roof to roof, came down to the river side, where he changed clothes with a poor peasant, and thus succeeded in escaping to his father's Hajiganj house. Abdul Ali Khan was arrested at the house of Sheikh Abdul Rasul Belgarami and imprisoned. He only escaped with life on the intercession of Shah Sadiq. Haji Ahmad, father of Hiabat Jang was also arrested. The Afghans, with the view of extorting from the poor old man his accumulated riches, which were reputed to be immense, put him to severe torture. The poor man escaped from his tortures, by death, which took place sixteen or seventeen days after his arrest.\* The immense riches of the man, amounting, it is said, to 60 or 70 lakhs of rупes, besides jewels, came into the hands of the Afghans, who also took possession of the treasury of Hiabat Jang, which was found to contain only three lakhs of

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\* His tomb is still to be seen Jafar Khan, at Mouzah Sabalpur, close to Bang



rupees. The city of Patna was given up to plunder ; the only house which escaped being the house of Syed Hidayat Ali Khan Bahadur, situated at Hajiganj. This was owing to the recommendation of Bakhtiar Khan, a mutual friend of the Syed and Shamsheer Khan. Hlabat Jang's head was now hung up at the Purab Darwaza (eastern gate) of the city, where he had, only a short time before, caused one half of Mustafa Khan's body to be hung up ; but Syed Muhammad Ispahani, a devoted friend, took it down at the imminent risk of his own life, and buried it with the headless trunk in a piece of land at Begampur, which the Nawab himself had purchased for the purpose of his interment.\* Shamsheer Khan and Sher Khan seized the persons of Amina Begam and her minor sons and daughters, and, mounting them on a car, paraded them, without *pardah*, through the city. They then imprisoned them at Bang Jafar Khan. Syed Mehdi Nisar Khan, had been a little before, sent on a punitive expedition against some rebellious zemindars of Serish Ganta. When the news of the tragedy enacted at Patna reached that part of the country, the zemindars in a body fell on him, and he and the little band of men under his command would have been utterly crushed, had he not retreated for shelter to the fort of Rohtas, where Ali Kuli Khan, the Governor, received him with great kindness. Having thus obtained possession of the city, Shamsheer Khan sent letters all round, asking the Afghans to come and join his standard. More than 50,000 Afghans responded to his call, and the city became full of these people. But, feeling himself unequal to coping with Muhabat Jang alone in the war of revenge which he saw imminent, he sent to the Mahrattas imploring their assistance. Soon a compact was entered into through the medium of Mir Habub, who, as we have before seen, was in the Mahratta camp, under which Mir Habub promised to pay all the expenses of the war, stipulating that on their obtaining the victory in the coming struggle, the Subah of Bengal was to be partitioned amongst the compacting parties ; the Mahrattas and Mir Habub obtaining the province of Bengal, and Shamsheer Khan the sister province of Behar.

Mahabat Jang was engaged in making his preparations to repel a fresh inroad of the Mahrattas, when intelligence suddenly reached him of the catastrophe of Patna. Muhabat Jang was not the man to give himself up to grief, or to be unnerved by misfortune in a moment of action. He immediately sent for

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\*The Makbara is still standing, Jang. The Shials regard it as the and is called the Makbara of Hlabat tomb of a Martyr and Saint.



the sirdars of his army, and told them of what had taken place at Patna; that his son-in-law was killed; that his daughter and her children were imprisoned, and that Subah Behar had passed out of his hands. He said that the alternative before him was to conquer or to die; and he asked those of them who were ready to die for him to come forward. All unanimously swore on the Koran to stand by him in this crisis, and he soon set out for Behar, with an avenging army of 170,000\* men. Saif Khan, the Governor of Purniah, sent the Nawab a contingent of 1,500 men under Seikh Din Muhammad, Jemadar of his forces; and Ismail Khan, Governor of Monghyr, who had fled from that fort on the approach of the Afghans, also joined the army of revenge. The coldness with which he was received by Muhabat Jang showed him at once that the Nawab Nazim was very much displeased at his precipitate flight.

The avenging army soon reached Barh. Never before did a Bengal army under the Muhammadans march with the speed with which Ali Verdi Khan Muhabat Jang marched on the present occasion. He had learnt the tactics of rapid movement from his experiences of the Mahrattas: but it was the determination of revenge, and the hope of rescuing those of his surviving relatives who were in danger, that impelled him in his march. Well do the Muhammadan historians say, that none among his contemporaries, but Asab Jah, Subahdar of the Deccan, can compare with him as a general.

While Muhabat Jang was thus rapidly advancing towards Behar, the Afghans from all parts of the province were daily swelling the ranks of the enemy, but, notwithstanding the immense plunder they had got, the services of war were evidently wanting in their camp. Mir Habub was sent for and cast into prison, because he could not find 50 lakhs of rupees which he was asked to pay, and it was not until the Mahratta scouts brought news of the near approach of Muhabat Jang that Mir Habub was released, on his promising to pay two lakhs of rupees, for which he found the security of some friendly bankers.

On his advance from Barh, Muhabat Jang kept by the bank of the river Ganges. Westward, the Ganges then bifurcated into two streams, the southernmost one narrow, but deep, and the other, the northern, forming the main stream of the

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\* This number, given by Mahomadan historians, appears to be too large. Nawab Shuja-ud-din had a standing force of 25,000 men, and,

making allowance for an increase on account of Mahratta inroads, the number could not have been, during Ali Verdi's reign, seven times greater.



Ganges.\* There was only one ford, caused by alluvial deposits of sand, by which the narrower stream could be crossed, and here Shamsheer Khan had made a very strong entrenchment in order to oppose his march. Muhabat Jang, not deeming it prudent to risk an assault in front, proceeded southward for two miles, and then, crossing the stream at another ford, came on the flank of the enemy's entrenched position. By a vigorous assault, the enemy's position was taken and his guns seized. The Afghans fled discomfited and terror-stricken. Muhabat Jang encamped here for the night, taking every precaution to guard himself against the wiles of the foe. It is said, that he spent the whole night in prayer and meditation, to prepare himself for the event of the coming day. As soon as it was daylight, the Nawab Nazim mounted his elephant and gave orders for the advance. At Ravi Serai, five miles from Barh, the advancing army met the enemy and the battle commenced. The Afghans in front were 50,000 or 60,000 strong, and the Mahrattas, who had come up to their aid, began molesting Muhabat Jang's forces in the rear. There was a brisk cannonade, and Dilawar Khan, one of the Afghan leaders, was killed. Muhabat Jang then ordered a general charge; but the Mahrattas, in order to create a diversion in favor of their allies, the Afghans, made one of their feigned attacks. Suraj-ul-Daulah, who was by his grandfather, was very much dismayed, and suggested that the Mahrattas should be first dispersed. That veteran warrior treated the suggestion with contempt, telling his grandson, with some annoyance, that it was now his business to fight the Afghans, and not to mind the Mahrattas, whom he could bring to account at any moment. The assault began; Mir Muhammad Kasim Khan and Dost Muhammad Khan advanced, charging with their war elephants to where Murad Sher Khan, though wounded, was sitting on his, and tried to take him alive; but Murad Sher Khan was an adept in the use of his sword, and dealt it so dexterously as to cut off all the fingers of Muhammad Kasim's right hand

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\* The present topography does not at all agree. It appears more probable that the new Punpun, which joins the Ganges a few miles west of Barh, and which Muhabat had to cross in his march to Patna, is here mistaken for one of the branches of Ganges. Ravi Serai, where the battle took place, is on the west side of Punpun, at a short

distance from the present Fatwah station of the East India Railway Company. If this be correct, Shamsheer Khan must have fortified the ford of Punpun in the direct route to Patna, to oppose the advance of Muhabat Jang, while Muhabat Jang crossed the stream by another ford, more to the south.



with one stroke, and Muhammad Kasim was saved only by Dost Muhammad Khan's timely aid. Thus doubly attacked, Murad Sher Khan fought like a lion until he met with his death. The Afghans began to waver at the loss of two of their noted leaders, and when Shamsheer Khan, their chief leader, fell dead, they took to flight. The Mahrattas, who had not taken any active part in the proceedings of the day, seeing their allies fly, dispersed from the scene of action. Muhabat Jang did not pursue them; but advanced at once to Patna to rescue his daughter and her children, who were in prison. His joy was unbounded when he found them alive, and there was great rejoicing in the city of Patna at this deliverance from Afghan misrule.

The following officers of the Naib Nazim's army are said to have distinguished themselves very much on this occasion; *viz.*, Bahadur Ali Khan, Mir Muhammad Kasim Khan, Haidar Ali Khan Raham Khan, Fakir-ul-Daulah Beg Khan, Sheikh Jahan Yar, Nawab Sohulab Jung, Muhammad Iraz Khan, Rajah Sundar Sinha, Rajah Talwan Sinha, Asalat Khan and Dilawar Khan. The Nawab Nazim rewarded all acts of valor with inams and khillats. A party of sepoy was despatched to Darbhanga to seize the goods and effects of Shamsheer Khan, and orders were sent to the Rajah of Bettiah, asking him to deliver over to the Nawab Nazim, the females of the family of Shamsheer Khan, who had, placed them under the protection of the Rajah. The Rajah refused to do so, and, in order to mollify the Nazim, offered to pay him three lakhs of rupees as their ransom. Muhabat Jang, however, would not hear of any such proposal, and sent to the Rajah, threatening him with the consequences of his refusal, following the threat soon after with his army to the opposite side of the Ganges. The Rajah was then compelled to submit, and all the female members of the family of Shamsheer Khan were made over to the Nawab Nazim. The kind treatment which they received from him, showed his magnanimity in striking contrast with all the brutalities perpetrated by Shamsheer Khan. These females were, with due regard to their modesty, admitted into the female apartments (Mehal Serai) of the Nawab Nazim, where during their stay, even Suraj ul Daulah was not permitted to enter. Every thing was provided for their comfort, and with the concurrence of her relatives, Shamsheer Khan's daughter was married to Shah Muhammad Afak, an Afghan of noble birth, and some landed estates were granted in inam for the maintenance of the couple. The same consideration was shown to the female members of the family of Mir Habub, who were then in Patna. They were sent on to the Mahratta camp, where Mir Habub was then plotting for the downfall of the Nawab Nazim. Instances of such



generous conduct are but rare in the history of the Muhammadan princes.

The settlement of the affairs of Behar was the next question to which the Nawab Nazim had to turn his attention. There were several surmises, but every body agreed in thinking that Sohulab Jang had the best claim to succeed his brother as Naib Nazim of Behar. The Nawab Begam, however, did not wish this to be so, and when Suraj-ul-Daulah, the favorite of herself and of her husband, threatened to commit suicide if the appointment were not given to him, she persuaded the Nawab Nazim, almost against his wishes, to adopt the unusual course of appointing Suraj-ul-Daulah as the nominal Subahdar, while vesting all the real power in Rajah Jankiram, a Bengali. Sohulab Jang was displeased, and threatened to go away to Delhi; but he ultimately yielded to the remonstrance of his uncle. Apprehending that the Mahrattas would ere long renew their attack, Muhabat Jang, hastened to Bengal with both Suraj-ul-Daulah and Sohulab Jang in his suite.

Suraj-ul-Daulah, however, was not satisfied with an arrangement under which, while he had the name, the power of Subahdar was vested in another. He took into his confidence Syed Mehdi Nisar Khan Bahadur, formerly the commandant of his father's forces, and the friends planned that Suraj-ul-Daulah should appear in Behar, and take the management of the Subah into his own hands. Suraj-ul-Daulah was then at Mednipur with Muhabat Jang; and he obtained leave on the pretence of going to Murshidabad. He then set out almost alone for Patna. Muhabat Jang got scent of what was going on, and sent a message to Suraj-ul-Daulah to return. Suraj-ul-Daulah received this message while on his way to Patna, and sent for answer, that if obstacles were thrown in his way, either his head would adorn the trophy of his grandfather, or his grandfather's would adorn his. When this insolent reply reached Muhabat Jang, it is said, he uttered the following couplet—

The Ghazis fight like lions when opposed to the foe,  
They die like lambs, when they are in love.

From Kasba Ghaispur, Suraj-ul-Daulah sent intimation of his arrival to Syed Mehdi Nisar Khan, who had preceded him to Patna. The Syed came and sent orders to the zemindars all round to come with their respective forces; but Suraj-ul-Daulah could not brook delay, and marched at once to Patna, with 60 or 70 men who were with him. Evidently he thought that there would be no opposition to his entering the city; but Rajah Jankiram knew his duty, and, acting on his own responsibility,



ordered the city gates to be closed, though he had not till then received any instructions from his master. Suraj-ul-Daulah's party approached the city by the South-Eastern side, where the tomb of his father stood at Begampur. This part of the city wall was under the guard of a patrol commanded by Mahant Jeswant, whose men, in the absence of their master, gave way and some of Suraj-ul-Daulah's men entered through the drains and opened the gate. Syed Mehdi Nisar Khan was wounded by a dart; but, nothing daunted, the Syed, sword in hand, entered through the city gate, leading the little party of Suraj-ul-Daulah's men. On their arrival at the gates of Hajiganj, they were met by Mahant Jeswant, who reproached the Syed for his temerity in forcing the gate under his charge during his absence. A parley was soon followed by a scuffle, Suraj-ul-Daulah's men leaving the Syed to fight alone.

The Syed fought manfully, and was only overpowered and killed when Mirza Madara Beg came to the assistance of the Mahant. On the fall of Syed Mehdi Nisar Khan, Suraj-ul-Daulah, who had taken shelter with his men near the approaches of the Masjid of Haji Tatar, did not know what to do. He fled and did not take breath till he had reached the house of the brother of Muhammad Irazi, his father-in-law. Mahant Jeswant, whose object was not to cause him any hurt, pursued him to that place, and brought the news of his safety and of the death of Syed Mehdi Nisar Khan to Rajah Jankiram.

Rajah Jankiram, ordered the head of Syed Mehdi Nisar Khan to be cut off and hung at the eastern gate of the city; but finding that this useless and inhumane proceeding was against the feelings of the Mahomedans, took it down and had it buried with the corpse\*

One amiable weakness of Muhabat Jang was his fondness for Suraj-ul-Daulah. He was apprehensive of the safety of Suraj-ul-Daulah, on account of this ridiculous but rash adventure, and, to save him, followed him immediately to Barh. He did not rest till, on his arrival at Barh, he received the agreeable news that Suraj-ul-Daulah was safe. By the earnest remonstrances and entreaties of friends, Suraj-ul-Daulah was persuaded to meet him at Barh, and, on his arrival there, was received with such welcome as his conduct hardly merited. Muhabat Jang then came to Patna, where he appointed Rajah Jankiram Naib Nazim in his own right. Jankiram carried on the administration till his death in the early part of the Hegiri year 1166, and Rajah

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\* Syed Mehdi Nisar Khan was side of his father Shah Alamullah buried at Mohalla Nun Galla, by the The tomb is yet said to exist.



Ramnarain was appointed to succeed him. Rajah Ramnarain was the son of Rang Lall, who held an inferior post in the service of Muhabat Jang when he was Naib Subahdar of Behar. During Hiabat Jang's time, Rao Narain first entered the public service and was appointed a Khas Navi. Gradually he rose to the appointment of Peskar of the Dewany. Muhabat Jang appointed him Dewan when he appointed Rajah Jankiram to take charge of the administration of this province. Muhabat Jang, who was a keen appreciator of merit, now appointed him Naib Subahdar, on Rajah Jankiram's death, appointing Rajah Durlab Ram, son of Jankiram, as Ramnarain's Vakil in the Murshidabad Court.

Ali Verdi Khan Muhabat Jang died on the evening of the 9th Jamadil ul Sanni, 1169 Hegiri, and Suraj-ul-Daulah succeeded him. The events that followed at Patna properly form the subject of a fresh chapter, "Patna, in the early days of the English Government in Bengal."

G. P. S.



## ART. VI.—ECONOMIC REFORM IN RURAL INDIA.

[IN FIVE CHAPTERS.]

### (1.)—*Rent Reform.*

"It is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India; to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer its government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all Power grant to Us, and to those in Authority under Us, strength to carry out these Our wishes for the good of Our people." (*The Queen's Proclamation, 1st November 1880.*)

**T**O promote the happiness of the people of India is the distinct aim of the British Government, the distinct duty of every one of its servants.

If that mark is not to be missed, if that duty is to be effectively discharged, it is necessary that the Government and its servants should keep constantly before them in every form of work, in every detail of administration, the great truth long ago formulated by Malthus, that *the happiness of a country depends on the proportion borne by the population to the food which it can produce or acquire, on the liberality with which that food is divided, on the quantity which a day's labour will purchase.*

He, then, who would rightly govern a district or province of India, must, above all things, concentrate effort on such production and distribution of food, such development of food-purchasing power, as shall secure to the greatest possible number of the people in his charge, that minimum of subsistence below which there can be no happiness.

And as four-fifths of the people are closely connected with the land, India being almost exclusively a country of 'peasant farmers,' where even the so-called towns are, for the most part, "merely groups of villages, in the midst of which the ploughman drives his cattle afield and all the operations of agriculture go on"—it would seem that this concentration of effort, to be effective, should be directed, in the proportion of about four parts to one, to the production of food by, and its distribution among, the rural classes who live by the land.

Every one admits and deplores the general depression of these classes. The difficulty of permanently improving their condition is very great, of finding a complete remedy for their sufferings, insuperable. None the less is it a plain duty to do whatever can be done to relieve them.

At the bottom of every society in which population is at all dense in proportion to the means of subsistence, there must



inevitably be a stratum, more or less thick, of pauperism and wretchedness. Practical administrators and philanthropists do not exhaust themselves in vain efforts to remedy the irremediable, and wholly to extinguish poverty, crime and hunger, but concern themselves with the means by which the scope of these evils can be narrowed, and the number of lives made wretched by them reduced.

I believe that a great deal might and ought to be done for rural India, which is neither being done, nor attempted, nor even projected. I believe that the doing of it would be work of such a simple, sensible kind as the people of England would approve, and the people of India appreciate, and that it might be so done as to lighten the burdens of the people and the anxieties of the Government, and to establish a kindlier feeling between rulers and ruled.

The time for trying to show how this may be done, seems to have come. The protection of rural India from famine is busily engaging administrative attention. The famine policy of the future is on the anvil. It embraces measures of prevention and protection as well as measures of relief. The impoverishment of the rural classes means the deterioration of their resisting energy against the attacks of famine. The greater their poverty, the worse, other things being equal, will be the calamity. The suggestions about to be made aim at lessening the impoverishment of these classes, and thereby lessening also the range and violence of famine. That is why I wish to get a hearing now, while the question how to prevent famines is still unsettled, and there is still a chance that suggestions towards its solution may be patiently listened to, and some of them, perhaps, adopted.

"During the lapse of generations," says Dr. Hunter, "despite domestic anarchy and foreign conquest, the Hindu village preserved its simple customs, written only in the imperishable tablets of tradition..... The harvest of the hamlet was dealt with as a common fund, and before the general distribution, the headman was bound to set aside the share of the King" (*Imperial Gazetteer* IV, p. 438). A writer who has minutely observed and described this primitive system as it survives to this day in an Oudh frontier district, says:—"The produce is the common property of every class in the agricultural community, from the Raja to the slave. No one is absolute owner more than the others, but each has his definite and permanent interest..... the basis of the whole society being the grain-heap." (*Gonda Settlement Report*, paras 83, 84).

The basis of society in India is still, the grain-heap on the threshing-floor. On it still rests the fabric of rural economy.



From year to year the people's happiness turns on the size of that heap, and the fairness of its distribution.

On it depend the support of four-fifths of the population, more than a third of the gross revenues of the State, nearly three-fifths of the revenue from taxation. (*Imperial Gazetteer*, IV, pp. 457 and 462).

In it "bound each to each by natural sympathy," centre the fiscal prosperity of the empire and the happiness of by far the greatest number of its inhabitants.

I shall try to keep this central fact steadily in view. Whenever I look up from my page, I shall try to see the harvest of the hamlet, the grain-heap on the threshing-floor; the State share in them as real to-day as it was a thousand years ago; the happiness of an empire lost or won on yonder field of scanty millet where an unequal battle is ever being fought with usurer and rack-renter, with drought and famine, with fevers and murrain, with bad markets and over-cropping, and want of capital, enterprise, and organization. And I shall try to show that if that weary battle is ever to be won, if yonder sinking, despairing peasant is ever to fight his way through the throng of cruel forces that now besets him, to a humble Earthly Paradise of fair rent, and bread to eat and raiment to put on, it can only be when England stands by his side and throws into the struggle her splendid strength of will and energy, of credit and resource.

By economic reform in rural India is meant such direct action on the production and distribution of harvest and grain-heap as will increase the wealth and lessen the poverty of the rural classes by securing:—

A larger yield;

Cheaper production;

A better market;

Fairer distribution;

Less absenteeism.

Under each of these five heads an attempt will be made to establish the necessity of reform; to trace the main lines which it should follow, and to suggest practical methods of working along those lines.

Strictly, of course, reforms affecting production should be discussed before those which relate to distribution. But the paramount importance of rent reform, and the prominent place occupied by it just now in public thought in England and India, lead me to take up the fourth of these subjects first. Even if there were no such reason, the fact that the Oudh Rent Act (XIX of 1868) still disfigures the statute-book, and that I am an Oudh district officer, would require me to say that first, which, if worth saying at all, will help, however feebly, to hasten the day when the great wrong of the Oudh ryot will be redressed at last.



*Chapter I.—Rent reform ;—to secure a fairer distribution of the produce between landlord and tenant.*

No one who has read the Report of the Famine Commission, (II, pp. 113 to 123) will question their conclusion that rent reform in India is necessary. The steps by which that conclusion has been reached are these—

A dense population, chiefly rural, is at present bound closely to the soil, and unable to find in other livelihoods than agriculture, an escape from such hardships as are produced by the existing system of tenure. A limited right in the land is generally recognized as belonging to large classes of tenants.

The State, therefore, cannot "leave the mutual relations of the payers and receivers of rent to adjust themselves by competition, and the ordinary rules which govern commercial contracts. It has always been an accepted principle in India, that the occupant of the soil is entitled to remain there from generation to generation, provided he pays the portion of the produce which may be demanded of him by Government or by some superior holder or landlord, and this proportion has generally been fixed by local custom."

Under native rule, tenants had to be conciliated by the superior holders by such privileges as low rents and fixity of tenure to secure their support in war against the officers of the native Governments, and to keep the land, in thinly peopled tracts, under cultivation. "Rights of this kind, when once acquired, were naturally conserved and strengthened by the general feeling, that whatever is old ought to remain unaltered. The native Governments also threw their weight into the same scale by reason of their knowledge, that the payment and growth of the revenue depended on the contentment and prosperity of those who cultivated the soil ; and hence it was commonly made a condition of the tenure of the superior holder, that he should not only pay the Government revenue, but also should foster the spread of cultivation, and keep the ryots contented."

The early British rulers of Bengal were "universally impressed with the belief, that the rights of the tenants were co-ordinate with those of the landlord and equal to his in point of permanence." The authors of the Permanent Settlement undoubtedly intended to place the tenant on as assured a footing of protection and security as the landlord, their object being, as was observed at the time, to secure to the "great body of the ryots the same equity and certainty as to the amount of their rents, and the same undisturbed enjoyment of the fruits of their industry" as was conferred on the zemindars. It was a general maxim in those days that the immediate cultivator of the soil



should not be dispossessed of the land he occupied. It was recognized that there were measures and limits by which the rent could be defined, and that rent was not left to the arbitrary determination of the zemindar. The Court of Directors remarked in 1792 that "the faith of the State is as solemnly pledged to uphold the cultivator of the soil in the unmolested enjoyment of his long established rights as it is to maintain the zemindar in possession of his estate, or to abstain from increasing the public revenue permanently assessed upon them." Regulation I of 1793, which created the rights of the zemindars, contained the proviso that, "it being the duty of the ruling power to protect all classes of people, more particularly those who from their situations are most helpless, the Governor-General in Council will, wherever he may deem it proper, enact such regulations as he may think necessary for the protection and welfare of the dependent talukdars, ryots, and other cultivators of the soil."

The Commission find reason to believe that "the rights thus asserted in the case of the Bengal ryot existed in a more or less complete form in every part of India." They quote Sir William Muir as saying, that "there is a very general consent, that in the native state of things the resident ryot, simply as such, is, throughout the continent of India, possessed, as a rule, of a right of hereditary occupancy at the customary rates of the vicinity."

But this right became gradually obscured. The intentions of Government to maintain it were for a long time not acted upon. "With the lapse of time it became more and more difficult to ascertain what were the precise rights of tenants, and what were the customary rates of rent. It is true, that Regulations were passed directing that the rights of the ryots should be protected and preserved, and this was most emphatically inculcated in those Regulations and Acts which prescribed the procedure in making a settlement of the land-revenue in the North-Western Provinces, but no legislative enactment distinctly formulated the nature of these rights, or the mode of testing their existence, or of recording them. *While the theory was that all existing rights should receive equal attention, and while the benefit likely to accrue to the cultivators was avowedly one of the principal objects of the settlements made for long periods, there grew up a generally exaggerated estimate of the proprietary rights of the landlords, and a corresponding depreciation of the tenants' position. English ideas of proprietorship were allowed to obscure the important limitations to which, in India, proprietorship was subject, and a tendency arose for the landlord*



*to become an absolute owner, and the cultivator a rack-rented tenant at a competition rent."*

The legislative attempt, made in and since 1859, to check this tendency and to define the rights of the tenants, have failed to secure their object.

The main feature of these attempts has been the division of cultivators in Bengal, and the North-Western Provinces into two broad classes, privileged and unprivileged; the privileged class being protected against arbitrary ejection or enhancement of rent, and the condition of entry into the privileged class being undisturbed occupancy for twelve years.

It is estimated that in the North-Western Provinces there are about 1,500,000 privileged, to 1,200,000 unprivileged, tenants. For Bengal the commission could get no statistics on this point. In the Punjab one-third of the whole body of tenants, or 540,000 out of about 1,640,000 are privileged. In the Central Provinces more than a third of the tenants, or 286,522 out of 755,553 are privileged. In Oudh the privileged class consists of those tenants only who are ex-proprietors. The Commission does not give their number, but states that the total number of tenants in Oudh is nearly two millions. The Review, however, of the revenue administration of the province for 1879-80, shows that the total number of holdings of all kinds is a million and a half, *of which only 8,622 are those of occupancy tenants, while 1,383,747 are those of tenants-at-will.*

"Although," say the Commission, "the intention of the legislation of recent years has clearly been to define and protect the rights of tenants, it is proved by the evidence before us, that the effect produced has been very different from the object aimed at. From all quarters it is reported that the relations between the landlord, and the tenants with occupancy rights are not in a satisfactory state, and are becoming yearly more and more hostile; so much so, that a landlord will generally refuse any aid to his occupancy tenants when they are in difficulties, and will do all that he can to ruin them and drive them off the land..... The fact that such rights are in constant course of accrual, frequently results in an equally constant series of efforts on the landlord's part to prevent such accrual taking place. When it has been effected, the landlord's object is to harass the tenant, and to diminish the value of his occupancy rights by bringing suit after suit for enhancement of the rent. The probable result of such a struggle is in favour of the more powerful combatant, and there is reason to fear, that in many parts of the country, the occupancy rights have been irretrievably impaired, and the point to which the efforts of Government should be directed is, therefore, to remove this conflict of interests."



Of the tenants-at-will the Commission say that "they form a large and an increasing class, the growth of which, in some parts of India, cannot be looked on without serious apprehension. They are kept in a situation of absolute dependence on the landlord which takes away the desire to improve the land, or to raise their own position, or to lay by anything from the profits of agriculture. The soil, therefore, is not unlikely, under such tenants, to become year by year less productive, and the tenant, having neither credit nor stores to fall back upon, becomes a prey to the first approach of famine."

The law, then, has failed generally "to secure adequate protection for the rights of the tenant."

In Bengal, in particular, the relations of landlord and tenant are specially unsatisfactory. The Commission feel no doubt that the condition of the rent-law, and the way in which it is administered in Bengal, are a very grave hindrance to the agricultural prosperity of the province, "and that large portions of the agricultural population remain, mainly owing to this cause, in a state of poverty at all times dangerously near to actual destitution and unable to resist the additional strain of famine."

Their conclusion as to Northern India is thus stated: "We can, however, feel no doubt that in all the provinces of Northern India, and particularly in Bengal, it is the duty of the Government to make the provisions of the law more effectual for the protection of the cultivator's rights..... Where the sub-division of land among tenants-at-will is extreme; and in a country where agriculture is almost the only possible employment for large classes of the people, the competition is so keen, that rents can be forced up to a ruinous height, and men will crowd each other till the space left to each is barely sufficient to maintain a family; any security of tenure which defends a part of the population from that competition must necessarily be to them a source of material comfort and of peace of mind, such as can hardly be conceived by a community where a diversity of occupations exist, and where those who cannot find a living on the land, are able to betake themselves to other employments. It is only under such tenures as convey permanency of holding, protection from arbitrary enhancement of rent, and security for improvements, that we can expect to see property accumulated, credit grow up, and improvements effected in the system of cultivation. There could be no greater misfortune to the country than that the numbers of the occupancy class should decrease, and that such tenants should be merged in the crowd of rack-rented tenants-at-will, who, owning no permanent connection with the land, have no incentive to thrift or to improvement. It is desirable for all parties that measures should be framed to secure the consolidation



of occupancy-rights, the enlargement of the numbers of those who hold under secure tenures, and the widening the limits of that security, together with the protection of the tenant-at-will in his just rights, and the strengthening of his position by any measure that may seem wise and equitable."

In Bombay the bulk of the occupants are peasant farmers holding direct from Government, and "no conflict as to rights between superior and inferior holders has as yet risen into prominence." But "a considerable class of subordinate tenants is growing up who have no permanent interest in the land, and who pay such high rents that they must always be in a state of poverty." The Commission consider that the existence of such a class involves the same evils as have been noticed by them in the case of the tenants-at-will in Northern India.

The same view is held by the Commission, regarding the corresponding class of subordinate tenants in Madras. Of the tenants, about a million in number, who hold under the great zemindars in Madras, and not directly under Government, or under-tenants directly engaging with Government, it is said that their legal position has become precarious, that they are exposed to many forms of oppression, and excluded from all the benefits which were intended to be secured to them by the rent laws. Fresh legislation is pronounced necessary in the case of this large class of cultivators, and also in the case of ryots holding under assignees of the Government revenue.

In the opinion, then, of those who have had the best possible opportunity of forming sound views on the subject, a reform of the rent laws is necessary "in all the provinces of Northern India, and particularly in Bengal," and also, as regards the subordinate tenants and those holding under the great zemindars or other proprietors in Madras and Bombay.

The Famine Commission have not only demonstrated the necessity of rent reform, but have suggested certain alterations in the existing law and its administration.

On these, as on their other, proposed 'measures of protection and prevention,' the Government of India is collecting the opinions of the local Governments. All over India civil officers are contributing their views as to the soundness and adequacy of the Commission's recommendations. The moment is one to be seized by all who wish to take their share in influencing the decision of a great question, on the right settlement of which depends, to a very large extent, the happiness of four-fifths of the people.

Among those who have studied the question, there is probably a general consensus of opinion, not only that reform is necessary, but also as to the special objects at which it should aim, and the



broad lines which it should follow. Divergences of view, of course, present themselves, but these, when analysed, are found to relate rather to the degree in which particular remedies should be applied than to the propriety of applying them. The proverbial difficulty exists—Who shall decide when doctors disagree? But the decision cannot on that account be deferred. The disease is acute. There is no disagreement as to diagnosis, but only as to details of treatment. Tonics and alteratives must be freely administered; the experts only disagree as to the strength of the doses.

As views are compared and surveys widen, much of this divergence will disappear. For it arises rather from the variety of standpoints from which the subject is regarded than from any hopeless antagonism between the views themselves.

One looks too exclusively at tenants' rights, another at landlords' wrongs. A third can see only the economic, a fourth the historical aspects of the question. Few have the time, or breadth, or patience to climb high enough to look all round.

"The peaky islet shifted shapes" as the voyagers sped past. Could they have staid to climb its tallest crag, their changing uncertain glimpses would have been replaced by a steady, equal outlook over every salient line in its precipitous contour. To such a view the enchantment lent by distance, the distance of height, is other than that of hue and illusion—

"In regions mild of calm and serene air  
Above the smoke and stir of this dim spot,"

the charm of clearness and truth works like a spell. The shifting shapes, the conflicting aspects that seemed so full of exaggeration and distortion, are toned and blended into one harmonious picture.

It is not waste of time to dwell on this consideration. Whether years are to be saved or lost in relieving the misery of the Indian ryot, will depend not a little on the extent to which the workers and thinkers of to-day think and work; most on the broad lines on which they agree, or on the narrow side-lines on which they differ.

A broad line for agreement seems to be traced, boldly and truly, in the following words, already quoted:—"It is only under such tenures as convey *permanency of holding, protection from arbitrary enhancement of rent, and security for improvements*, that we can expect to see property accumulated, credit grow up, and improvements effected in the system of cultivation." (Report of the Famine Commission, II, p. 118).

The problem of rent reform in India lies in so recasting the rent law of each province in it, as to restore to the cultivators these three constituents of their lost tenant-right. These are



the three points of the Ryot's Charter:—"The three Fs" to be worked for in future Indian Land Bills will be:—

Fixity of Tenure ;                      |                      Fair Rents,  
Fair dealing with improvements.

So far as the well-being of the agricultural classes depends on rent reform, it depends, almost entirely, on the thoroughness with which the Government, as chief landlord, itself sets the example of acting on these three principles in its dealings with its own tenants,—the revenue-payers of Northern India, the registered ryots of Madras and Bombay,—and constrains them to deal likewise with the cultivators subordinate to them.

But the example has first to be set. The physician must heal himself. The shattered wrecks of rural happiness lie thick below the surface of village life in India. Too many of them have been caused not by famine, pestilence, or the 'Act of God,' not by thriftless improvidence or Moghul rapacity, but by the exactions of past British Governments, by the blunders of past revenue administration, by ignorance and arrogance in high places, and want of backbone, and blind unquestioning subservience in "docile drudges." If any one doubts this, let him read the fiscal history of almost any district in India since it first came under the influence of British rule. Let him dip into Settlement Reports and Selections from Revenue records. Let him study the history of British relations with Oudh since 1775. His doubts will not survive a few hours' research.

It will be said,—the past is dead and buried. Why exhume its mouldering corpse? I reply,—I unbury no corpses, I only ask you to walk with me for a moment through the graveyard and read what is written on the tombstones. There "by the cold Hic Jacets of the dead" shall we learn lessons of truth for the living present, hope for the unborn future:

"Standing on what too long we bore  
With shoulders bent and downcast eyes,  
We may discern, unseen before,  
A path to higher destinies.

Nor deem the irrevocable past  
As wholly wasted, wholly vain,  
If, rising on its wrecks, at last  
To something nobler we attain."

In respect of fixity of tenure, there is probably not very much that needs to be amended in the relation of the chief landlord towards the revenue-payers and registered ryots. But over-assessments have been too frequent, suspensions and remissions for calamity are too sparingly allowed, to admit of the belief that fair rents are always secured.



That fair dealing with improvements is not yet the rule between State and Zemindar is practically admitted by the Famine Commission (Report II, p. 145), and will be shown in detail in the next chapter.

It is necessary to preface a discussion of the principles of rent reform in India by thus recalling the obligation that rests on the State, as chief landlord, scrupulously to practise towards its own tenants that which is to be preached to them in their capacity of ordinary landlords. For in this coming fight with famine, the State is about to grapple with a Hydra of huge bulk and power. Resources will be strained to the uttermost. Faint hope is there of a fortunate issue unless the spirit of might, inspire force, the spirit of counsel, wisdom. The ten-fold strength of Galahad's stroke and thrust is needed. Only as it grew in him, can it grow in the thews and sinews of the body politic. "My strength," he sings, "is as the strength of ten, *because my heart is pure.*"

In applying fixity of tenure the leading points on which a decision will have to be made, are:—(1) the conditions, breach of which should empower a landlord to procure cancelment of the tenure; (2) whether any classes of tenants should be excepted from the enjoyment of fixity of tenure, and (3) the limits within which the tenure may be alienated.

(1.) *The conditions, breach of which should empower a landlord to procure cancelment of the tenure,* are not separately discussed by the Famine Commission.

The necessary conditions seem to be:—

Punctual payment of the "fair rent"; doing well by the land, and protecting it from deterioration, abstention from intrigue or hostility against the fair, reasonable, and customary authority of the landlord.

Abstention from grave crime or misconduct against the public, or the State.

Two writers have recently published their views on this matter. Mr. H. C. Irwin (*Garden of India*, p. 332) mentions only the first of these conditions. He would authoritatively fix rents for thirty years at a time, and would make failure to pay the rent so fixed, the sole ground for eviction. "Any tenants," he says, "against whom a decree for arrears of rent had been passed should be liable to ejectment if the decree remained unsatisfied after one month from the date of an application by the decree-holder for his dispossession, or after such further time, not exceeding six months, as the Court in its discretion might allow."

The author of an excellent pamphlet on "Landlord and Tenant in Oudh," reprinted in 1881 from the *Lucknow Express*,



would impose each of the four conditions. As to the first of them, he says:—"Should a landlord be allowed to evict for arrears of rent? Probably, as rack-renting would have received a heavy check, this would be both just and advisable. But to provide for bad seasons, and prevent the tenants being driven into the clutches of the money-lender, it might be well to give him, say, a year's grace, with stipulations as to interest and security," (page 18).

As to the second condition, he says:—"If the inability to cultivate up to a reasonable standard be allowed as a valid reason for ejectment, the claws of the money-lender would be cut. In cases where his operations had been carried to a point at which they became disadvantageous to agriculture, his victim and his security would disappear at the same time. He could never look forward to investing his money in a drove of slaves, tied to his village by the curse of a right of property, and pouring the whole of the fruits of their labour into his strong box. There would be no interference with the healthy development of the country at large. The power of eviction would be readily exercised by the Court in cases where it was for the advantage of agriculture that the land should change hands." (p. 16.)

As to the third and fourth conditions:—

"Should eviction be allowed on considerations not directly connected with the cultivation of the land; if, for instance, the tenant is of a bad character, or, while he pays regularly himself, stirs up the other inhabitants of the village to resist the landlord's fair and legal demands? We think so certainly, and that such a provision would be not only just, but unexceptionable as a self-acting police measure." (p. 18.)

(2.) The next question is, *whether any classes of tenants should be excepted from the enjoyment of fixity of tenure?*

Mr. Irwin, and the author of "Landlord and Tenant in Oudh," are both agreed on this point, that to whatever degree fixity of tenure is conceded, it is to be conferred on all classes of cultivators alike. "Almost all the evils," says the writer of the pamphlet, "which are attached to occupancy rights as they are at present defined in the North-Western Provinces, arise from the creation of a privileged class of tenants; where the rights of all tenants are equal, those evils could never come into existence; the landlord would gain nothing by entering into a contest in which both he and his tenantry, and the general interests of the country suffer." (p. 15.)

Mr. Irwin says:—"It must once more be repeated with an iteration which would be utterly damnable if it were not so entirely indispensable, that absolute security of tenure at a fixed,



equitable rent must be made the indefeasible right of every cultivator whomsoever, not treated as the privilege of a favoured few. As a necessary condition of healthy agriculture and sound rural economy, it should be conferred on the Chamar no less than on the Brahman, on the tenant of one year's standing, as well as on him of five hundred years." (Garden of India, p. 334.)

An attempt, probably, will be made to exclude non-resident tenants from fixity of tenure. But this, I think, would be unreasonable. The non-resident tenants usually till those inferior village lands which most require improvement. To withhold fixity of tenure would be to deprive such tenants of the strongest possible stimulus to improve those lands. On the other hand, if these tenants prove incompetent and do badly by the land, the second of the proposed conditions would enable the landlord to get rid of them.

(3). *The third question to be settled is that of the limits within which the tenure may be alienated.*

Alienation takes the three forms of sub-letting, mortgage, and sale. The Famine Commission (Report II, p. 120), though in favour of extending the power of alienation by sale or mortgage, are strongly against sub-letting. They remark:—"The more valuable the occupancy right becomes by reason of such measures of protection as we have advocated, the more need will there then be of guarding against a custom which is everywhere prevalent in India, under which the privileged tenant is apt to turn into a middleman, sub-letting the land, and living on the difference between the rack-rent and the privileged rate secured to him by the law. The occupancy right can only be beneficial to the community when enjoyed by a *bond fide* cultivator; and the object of the law should be to prevent any one who is not a *bond fide* cultivator from acquiring or retaining such rights. If this can be secured, the chief danger in the way of making such rights marketable will be removed, for they will not be able to pass into the hands of money-lenders; and if a tenant who becomes deeply involved is sold up, his land will pass to another tenant, presumably a more thrifty man, and the public interests will not suffer by such a substitution. We therefore recommend that, concurrently with the extension of the right of transfer, the practice of sub-letting by an occupancy tenant should be discouraged, or even, if possible, forbidden. Care must no doubt be taken, lest such a measure should work harshly. But if a tenant, for a long period, fails to keep up the stock required for cultivating his land, or otherwise ceases to be by occupation and habit a *bond fide* cultivator, the rights he or his ancestors acquired by cultivating the soil might reasonably pass from him to the



person who, having become the actual cultivator, occupies his place."

This question of sub-letting was discussed at great length by the Bengal Rent-law Commission (see Report, vol. II, pp. 232—236 ; 401—416 ; 445 ; 456 ; 467 ; 469 ; 472 ; 474 ; 475 and 477). The majority of the Commission found it impossible to disallow sub-letting altogether, while admitting its great evils. The difficulties which appear to stand in the way of forbidding it in Bengal, do not, it is probable, exist in the Upper Provinces.

The Famine Commission seem to be in favor of facilitating alienation by sale and mortgage. They say, (Report, part II, p. 120):—"Though, on the whole, we regard the general concession of the power of sale of these rights to be expedient, and ultimately almost unavoidable, the immediate course to be followed by the Government must, no doubt, be to a great extent governed by local custom. Where the custom has grown up, and the tenants are in the habit of selling or mortgaging their rights in land, it should certainly be recognized by the law ; and where it has not, it may be questioned whether the law should move in advance of the feelings and wishes of the people." In the passage already quoted about sub-letting, they recommend its discouragement "concurrently with the extension of the right of transfer."

It is not easy to reconcile this view with their remark a few pages further on (Report, part II, p. 131):—"We learn from evidence collected from all parts of India that about one-third of the landholding class are deeply and inextricably in debt, and that at least an equal proportion are in debt, though not beyond the power of recovering themselves. It is commonly observed that landholders are more indebted than tenants with occupancy rights, and tenants with rights than tenants-at-will, a result obviously attributable to the fact that, the classes which have the best security to offer, are the most eligible customers of the money-lenders."

Mr. Irwin would rigorously exclude the power of mortgage. (Garden of India, pp. 336—338). Of sale he says:—"Sale accompanied by an immediate delivery of possession might perhaps be permitted to meet the case of a cultivator who had expended capital on his land, and wished to abandon his holding for food, and to emigrate or pursue some other calling. But of such sale the sanction of the

The Bengal Rent-law Commission (Report, vol. I, p. 17), allow sale of the occupancy right, but forbid its mortgage.



Collector should be on an indispensable condition, and should only be accorded where he has satisfied himself that the cultivators' intention and desire to sell are *bond fide*, and not forced upon him by any terrorism or cajolery of the would-be-purchaser." There is, perhaps, some confusion here between selling the right to compensation for improvements, and selling the occupancy tenure itself. A tenant should be empowered, if actually leaving his farm, to sell, by agreement, either to his landlord or to an incoming tenant the value of his unexhausted improvements. If a fair price were refused, recourse might be allowed to the Rent Court for an award. That the tenure itself should be made capable of being either sold or mortgaged, I cannot admit. It should devolve by inheritance but not be otherwise transferable.

There is a good deal of disproportion between the Famine Commission's suggestions as to the acquisition of fixity of tenure—the occupancy right—as they call it—and the course plainly indicated by their description of the tenant right of India. They establish conclusively the unquestionable right of the cultivator to permanency of tenure; they pronounce the existing legislation for his protection to be unsatisfactory and inadequate, but the glamour of that legislation is so strong, that they can recommend nothing for the ryots' deliverance that is not moulded on the very lines which have made it abortive.

Tenant-right *nascitur, non fit*. The Commission admit that it is the historic birthright of the Indian cultivator, but yet hold that it must be earned by length of occupancy, or even purchased. "The tenants-at-will," they say, "form a large and increasing class, the growth of which in some parts of India, cannot be looked upon without serious apprehension.....It is much to be desired that for tenants of this class some means should be provided by which they might, without injury to the landlords, secure occupancy right in the lands they hold." (Report II, p. 120). A plan is then suggested which, it is thought, "would operate in the direction of restoring to the cultivating class the protection which they had under the ancient custom of the country against extreme pressure by rack-renting, but which they have, in a great measure, lost under our rule." And it, or some similar plan, is recommended for adoption "in order that those among the tenants-at-will who are the best cultivators, and the most thrifty persons, may have an opportunity of raising themselves from their present precarious situation to the more secure position of an occupancy tenant." The idea thrown out is, that a valuation should be made of the amount which a landlord annually loses when a tenant acquires occupancy-right, and that a tenant-at-will should be given the



privilege of "making good by instalments, during a certain number of years, a sum equal to the capitalized value of that amount, in addition to his present rental," and that he should, on so doing, "obtain the privilege and the advantages of security of tenure which attach to an occupancy tenant."

The scheme appears to be both impracticable and unjust. If the tenant-at-will is rack-rented, as he generally is, how can he possibly save anything wherewith to pay his annual instalment "in addition to his present rental?" If he is not rack-rented, and begins to put by the instalments, what is to prevent his landlord from raising the rent to a rack-rent, thereby securing the full enhancement possible, and maintaining the tenant's inferior status?

Again; why should the ryot be required to purchase a right which, by immemorial custom, is his already? If one point is clearer than another in the history of India, it is that the tenant is entitled to hold continuously from generation to generation, provided he pays the prescribed share of the produce and behaves well. The Famine Commission have themselves seen and stated this with admirable force and clearness in a portion of their Report (part II, pp. 113—115) already summarised and quoted from. It is difficult to understand how, with knowledge so sound and clear of the rights of the ryot and of the wrong done to him by allowing 'English ideas' to obscure Indian phenomena, they can have left the straight road that lay before them, the short and simple path back to the true original position, to pursue the further application of utterly unsuitable 'English ideas,' and land themselves in the preposterous conclusion that the miserable, rack-rented cottier is to be invited to put by capital and buy his own birthright. Such a conclusion recalls the famous famine *recipe*:—"Bread scarce! Why don't they live on tarts?"

The leading points to be settled under the head of Fair Rents seem to be:—

(1) The standard by which the Fair Rent is to be determined; (2) The agency, and mode by, and in, which it is to be determined; (3) The period after which the rent, so determined, may be revised, and (4) How suspensions and remissions for calamity are to be arranged for?

(1) *The standard by which the Fair Rent is to be determined.*—Here, as in much else in the land administration of India, the true road to reform lies in looking back to the time when the things to be set right first began to go wrong. If that time is found to be not so remote, and the divergence from ancient usage to be not so wide as to make the working back to it



Impracticable, then steps should, as far as as possible, be retraced, and a new path traced out, following the old lines as closely as changed conditions allow.

Everyone who knows anything of the history of the relation between landlord and tenant in India, knows that the present unsatisfactory state of things is the direct outcome of comparatively recent changes, the chief of these changes being the substitution of money-rents for rents in kind, and of competition for custom. The system of rents in kind had four attributes of immense value in the protection of the cultivator. It gave him practical fixity of tenure. It fixed for him a fair rent, determined by custom, and unaffected by competition. It secured him remission of rent for calamities of season, however slight, the remission being exactly proportioned to the extent of the loss. It kept up a close mutual interest between tenant and landlord in the improvement of the land and the protection of the produce.

Each of these advantages has been lost by the general conversion of kind into cash. The fixity of tenure which naturally prevailed when landlords had nothing to gain by evicting, has disappeared. The Fair Rent, prescribed by immemorial custom in the shape of a fixed share of the produce, has been replaced by a fluctuating demand in silver, constantly forced higher and higher by the rise in prices, the increase of population, and, chiefly, by the direct aggravation of the action of competition on rents, produced by the conversion itself, coinciding, as it is has, with the decay of manufactures, the loss of military and quasi-military service, and the narrowed choice of livelihood that has resulted from the breaking-up of Native Courts, and the drain of wealth away from the hamlets and threshing-floors of rural India to more and more distant centres of government.

The elastic, self-adjusting scale of remission for calamity has been lost. The improvement and protection of field and crop are now no longer a tie of great moral and economic value between rent-payer and rent-receiver, but the fertile source of dissension between them, fatal both to the maintenance of kindly relations and to the development of rural prosperity.

It is, however, impossible to go back, on any large scale, to the system of rents in kind, and to restore, in that way, the precise degree and kind of protection which it afforded to the cultivator. Wherever possible, the reversion to it should be encouraged and promoted by taking some part of the land revenue in kind. Probably much more could be done in the way of reverting to payments of rent and revenue in kind than is generally supposed. The Government will some day realise



that (as shown by me five years ago in two papers headed "Corn in Egypt," published in the *Pioneer's* "A Fair Field," 3rd June and 9th August 1876) millions are being lost to the cultivators, the zemindars, and the exchequer of India by the present fatuous system under which, year by year, some four hundred million rupees have to be procured for the payment of rent by the barter of abnormally cheapened produce for silver, in a market in which, at the time of the barter, silver is abnormally dear, and some two hundred million of these rupees are then bartered for gold in a market in which silver is abnormally cheap. It will then be found that a great deal of this ruinous loss, by buying dear and selling cheap, might be avoided, and a new system will be adopted, one feature of which will be a considerable reversion to payments in kind in districts favourably situated for remitting produce to foreign markets. The subject will be examined in detail in my third and fourth chapters.

Still, whatever may be found practicable in this direction, rents in money will probably continue to prevail to a greater extent than rents in kind.

The object to be aimed at, therefore, seems to be the restoration, as far as possible, under a system of money rents, of the special protection enjoyed by the ryot under the old system of rents in kind.

This, I think, is the particular form which the replacement of the cultivators, "in the position they have gradually lost," must take.

The protection then enjoyed by the ryot, lay, as stated above, in the fact that payment in kind gave him fixity of tenure at a fair rent, representing a fixed customary share of the gross produce, but fluctuating in exact correspondence with the variations of outturn from season to season. Loss by calamity or fall in prices, and gain by improvements, were the joint gain and loss of landlord and tenant.

The extent to which this protection can be restored seems to depend on the answers to be given to the following questions:—

To determine the Fair Rent, when in dispute, is it possible to ascertain what share of the gross produce was being paid to the landlord at the time when the conversion into money took place?

Can the average gross produce, and its average value in money, relatively to the cultivator's means for realizing that value, be computed?

Can an effective system of remissions be secured for such exceptional diminution of outturn by calamity as is not allowed for in the settlement of the Fair Rent?



Can improvements, and the rent to be paid after improvements are made, be so regulated as to restore the mutual interest in improving and protecting the land which subsisted between landlord and tenant when rents were paid in kind?

If these four things can be done, and a Fair Rent can be thereby secured, can fixity of tenure at that rent be conceded?

As to the first of these matters there would seem to be no insuperable difficulties, except in Lower Bengal, where, it is stated, 'the share of the produce has been converted into money rents from time immemorial' (Bengal Rent Law Commission, Report II, p. 448: Minute by Mr. J. O'Kinealy). Where the conversion has been recent, there should be no difficulty at all. Barely, I should think, has it taken place at such a distance in the past as to have left no reliable traces in the memory of living persons, or in village tradition or actual surviving custom. At the worst, enough could be ascertained in those tracts, and they are numerous, where grain rents are still in vogue, or have only disappeared very recently, to furnish a sound basis for determining the landlord's fair share in similar tracts for which the information cannot be directly traced. I quote at this point the Hon'ble Kristodas Pal, to whose "Thirty-nine Articles on the Report of the Bengal Rent Law Commission," recently reprinted from the *Hindoo Patriot*, I am indebted for much clearing of my ideas as to the standard by which the fair rent should be determined. He says (Reprints, p. 105):—"If the Government really wishes to purge the courts of ceaseless litigation between the landlord and tenant, and to promote peace and good will among the two classes, it ought to provide a uniform fixed, and precise rule for the settlement of rent. We are willing to admit that the Sovereign has always exercised that power, and that custom, which is a higher law than statutory law, has also been in favor of a fixed rule.

*Examine the rent system of any district, and you will find that at the bottom there has been everywhere a rule of proportion according to which the landlord takes a portion of the produce as rent payable by the tenant.*—"Of course it is difficult now to ascertain that proportion accurately, for when that proportion was fixed, payment was made in kind. Since the commutation of the payment into money, the theory of proportion has been practically lost sight of. We are of opinion that it should be revived, and that a definite share of the gross produce should be fixed as an equivalent of rent. What that share should be is a fair subject for discussion."

As long ago as 1865, Mr. Herbert Harington showed that in at least one district of Oudh the Fair Rent was determined by a



reference to the landlord's customary share of the produce, and foresaw that it might become necessary to legislate for the adjustment of money-rents on the basis of a limitation of the landlord's demand to the equivalent of a specific portion of the produce.

The following passages occur in his Report, dated 4th April 1865, of an enquiry made by him into the condition of cultivators in the Bara Banki (then the Durriabad district). The report itself will be found in part I (The Tenant-right Question) of the 'Further Papers relating to Under-Proprietary Rights and Rights of Cultivators in Oudh, Calcutta, 1867.' The enquiry was pronounced by Sir William Muir to have been conducted 'with great care and accuracy, and with unusual breadth of view and freedom from preconceived ideas.'

"So far," wrote Mr. H. B. Harington, "as the annexed facts will warrant, only one conclusion is justified. It is that, at least, in the portion of the district examined, custom does exercise an enormous influence; that competition exists only to a most limited extent; and that usage regulates, in a remarkable degree, the exercise of the landlord's power both as to ousting tenants and to adjusting rents. Landlords and cultivators were unanimous in saying that, of the gross produce of the soil one-half is due to the landlord, the other to the cultivator. In a large number of cases, as will be detailed below, the landlord's portion is but two-fifths, the tenant taking three-fifths as his share. *It was agreed on all sides that on this understanding rents are adjusted, money payments substituted for payments in kind, and competition limited.....* In changing the buttaie for the jumaie system, the money rate will, if practicable, be that of neighbouring fields. If this be impracticable, because in them also buttaie prevails, *the new rate will be adjusted on the last three or five years' average of the produce and its average price in the bazar.....* As already stated, the absolute right of the landlord to raise his rents is uniform by acknowledgment. It seems, however, to be as uniformly admitted that in so doing he is bound to conform to the usage of the country. In the first place, *he is supposed not to enhance the rent beyond that point at which it becomes the fair equivalent of that portion of the produce which is really his due; in other words, beyond the equivalent of two-fifths of the gross produce from the privileged, of half from the ordinary cultivator.....* It may, however, be remarked that until money payments have entirely superseded payments in kind, in other words, so long as even a few fields are rented in kind, *the real due of the cultivator and the true principle on*



*which rents should be adjusted* will be kept forcibly before every body's mind..... So far as usage limits the landlord's rent to a specific portion of the produce, so far his rent rate may be said to be fixed: at the same time, its amount is so far from being fixed, that it fluctuates with the changes in the (average) amount of produce and with the average price of that produce in the bazar..... If competition be the inevitable result of our intercourse with India, it will be a competition, such as exists among Irish cottiers, and its effects can only be such as have been above described" (namely, "untold misery and agrarian outrage.") "*If there be real danger of such a result, a just law, limiting the rise of rents to the bounds imposed by custom, would be our best hope. If custom has already become a sort of right, the time for giving an expression to the unwritten law might seem to have arrived. To check an evil tendency is easier than to counteract an existing evil..... My own belief is that arbitrary legislation may be avoided. The true remedy lies, as I venture to think, in the voluntary action of the talukdars. So strong and so deep-seated is the feeling, that by the custom of the country the landlord should limit his demands to a specific portion of the produce, and that on this basis money rents should be adjusted, that I am convinced, we might be met half way. Were our talukdars convinced that this is all which is required of them, that no vexatious interference was to be apprehended, and that they would be still allowed to be masters in their own estates, they would, and I believe without exception, subscribe to an agreement which would bind them to raise no rent and evict no tenant, except in accordance with the usage of the province. What that usage is, might be easily defined; its details would not be difficult to fill in; its outlines I have tried to sketch. It is true that the existence of the custom would seem to justify the introduction of the law; but if the best results of the law can be attained without legislative interference, much good may be realised; some evil may be avoided.*"

Herbert Harington's 'unusual breadth of view' and accuracy of forecast were, for the time, quite thrown away. Within little more than three years of his writing as above, the Oudh Government of 1868 forgot the solemn pledges given by Lord Dalhousie at annexation and by Lord Canning at re-occupation, that "every man shall enjoy henceforth his just rights without fear of molestation," and that the talukdari settlement should "be so framed as to secure the village occupants from extortion," and crushed the under-proprietors of Oudh by Act XXVI of 1866, the roys of Oudh by Act XIX of 1868. In 1856 Oudh was annexed, because the Government felt "that it would be guilty



in the sight of God and man if it were any longer to aid it in sustaining by its countenance and power a system fraught with suffering to millions." Twelve years later the Government went out of its way to introduce another system "fraught with suffering to millions," and has sustained that system "by its countenance and power" to this day. M. de Laveleye's assertion that, "in Oudh the State has stipulated no guarantee whatever for the ryot; this is a fault and something more; it is a crime,—the crime of high treason against humanity," was a partial exaggeration, but not, as Lord Lytton called it, an "unfounded aspersion." The protection given to the Oudh ryot in 1868 and till now is utterly inadequate. As I wrote elsewhere, in October 1876, to protest against Lord Lytton's contention that the Oudh ryot had been adequately protected by elaborate legislative enactment:—"There is for him no limitation of the rent demand to a definite proportion of the average produce valued in money; no authoritative fixation for reasonably long periods; no security from capricious eviction, or from constant pressure to consent to constant enhancement. '*The court, in Oudh, shall in no case inquire into the propriety of the rate of rent payable by a tenant not having a right of occupancy.*' As long as the Legislature considers this state of things satisfactory; as long as it fails to provide any machinery for the equitable fixation of rent for reasonable periods, to the comfort or advantage of landlord and tenant alike; as long as no length of blameless tenancy confers on the Oudh ryot the bare right of protection from eviction conditional on his paying a fair rent and doing well by the land;—in a word, as long as Act XIX of 1868 remains unrepealed, the less the gauntlet is thrown down to foreign critics the better."

The second matter, the ascertainment of the average gross produce and of its average value in money is undoubtedly difficult, but by no means impracticable. In temporarily settled districts the settlement officers have already done a good deal of the task by their minute classification of soils, the compilation of field-maps and registers, and their record of the result of enquiries made about produce on different soils. In the North-West Provinces the Agricultural Department is collecting much valuable information about the outturn of ordinary soils under ordinary cultivation for comparison with the outturn on the same soils under experimental improvements. In the other provinces the North-West lead is likely to be followed before long. The computation, moreover, will only be necessary when the Fair Rent is in dispute, and the dispute cannot be settled without recourse to a Government officer. No general or compulsory interference with existing rents is contemplated; and the people of India



neither expect nor appreciate complex and elaborate ways of adjusting rural disputes. So far as the settlement officers have left unascertained the average gross produce of the different tracts and pergunnahs and classes of soils, and its average value in money, the omission is one that is seriously felt by the executive, and the supply of this desideratum by the enquiries of the rent courts or rent commissions in adjusting disputed rents would possess a high administrative value, quite apart from its value in the fixation of rent. Mr. Field thinks that the computation is not impracticable. He says, (Report of the Bengal Rent Law Commission II, p. 464) and in support of the view that the principle of taking a share of the produce as the measure of rent should not be altogether abandoned :—

“Thirdly, the share may be taken upon an average of years, and the commuted money value may be calculated upon an average of prices. If the classification of the lands and crops be made sufficiently wide to embrace an accurate estimate of all reasonable differences, there ought to be no insurmountable difficulty in obtaining a fair average of all kinds of produce upon all soils. The ascertainment and record of prices are now part of the duty of every district officer; and there ought to be no valid reason why this duty should not be performed with sufficient accuracy for the local areas in every district. With these materials to hand, the task of settling rents, or adjusting the enhancement of rents, ought not to be an impossible one. No abstract theoretical rule will ever supply the want of such or some such actual materials.”

The Bengal Commission have so far adopted the principle as to propose (paras 46 to 62 of their Report, and Section 23 of their Draft Rent Bill) “to take one-fourth of the average annual value of the gross produce as the *maximum limit* or *ultimate test* of the equity of the occupancy ryot’s rent.”

His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal thinks that this proposal “will probably meet with general acceptance,” and adds: “The Commission do not, it will be seen, propose to take a share of the gross produce as the ordinary *standard* of rent, but leave enhancement to be made upon the grounds recognised by the present law as now more clearly defined and explained.” (Report I, p. 3). By section 23 of the Draft Bill the average annual value of the gross produce of the land shall be calculated for staple crops only, and upon the prices at harvest time of a reasonable number of years; and the Board of Revenue is empowered to make rules for calculating such average annual value. If this can be done in Bengal in spite of the immense difficulties caused by its Permanent Settlement and the consequent



absence of detailed information, *a fortiori* can it be done in Upper India. The third point will be considered when examining the question how suspensions and remissions for calamity are to be arranged for?

As to the fourth, it is clear that a good deal of the old stimulus to landlord and tenant to work together in improving the land would be considered under the proposed system. As the amount of the share of each in the outturn will increase as the average amount of the outturn rises, and decrease, as it falls, both will feel reasonably sure of enjoying a larger income from the land when its outturn is permanently increased by improvements.

So, too, with regard to works of protection. The greater the security of remission for calamity that is devised for the benefit of the tenant, the stronger will be the inducement to the landlord to co-operate with him in warding off calamity, and the closer will be the approach to a restoration of the old mutual interest.

For the full restoration of that interest, and the revival, under the new order, of all that was worth conserving in the old, as regards the improvement of the land, the association of landlord and tenant with the chief landlord, the State, is indispensable. Some suggestions on this point will be offered presently under the head of fair dealing with improvements. They will be elaborated in greater detail in my second chapter.

The fifth question has already been answered. If the ryot of India is to receive justice at the hands of the British Government, fixity of tenure at a Fair Rent *must* be granted him. For "it has always been an accepted principle in India that the occupant of the soil is entitled to remain there from generation to generation, provided he pays the portion of the produce which may be demanded by Government, or by some superior holder or landlord, and this proportion has generally been fixed by local custom." (Famine Commission Report II, p. 113).

(2.) *The agency and mode by, and in, which the Fair Rent is to be determined.*—Without actual experience of the extent to which landlords and tenants will bring forward their claims for the settlement of the Fair Rent, it is impossible to say what agency will be necessary or appropriate, or in what precise mode it should act. But a few leading requirements may be noted.

The scheme should not be brought into work in all the districts of a province, or even in all parts of the same district, at one time. Work should be begun in areas so limited, that, if stronger establishments than had been provided, were found to be necessary, they could be supplied without inconvenience. Thus



time would be gained for mapping out the work to be done; for organising a staff of experts; for retracing false steps; for fixing such a rate of progress as could be worked up to without dislocating ordinary business or causing financial difficulties.

Probably only about a fifth or fourth part of a district should be attacked at a time. Whatever area might be chosen, it would be necessary to announce therein, that, while it was at all times open to landlords and tenants to adjust rents by agreement in the usual fashion, the special courts (or officers) for settling the Fair Rent in disputed cases would only be available in that area once, say, in five years, and that no claims would be heard by them which were not put in by the 31st May of the year for which work in that area was to be undertaken.

The selected courts (or officers) should, as far as possible, have 'settlement' experience.

They should be required to spend six months of the year in camp.

A local enquiry by the Court itself, or by a permanent subordinate of considerable official status, should be made an indispensable preliminary to final decision.

The greatest encouragement should be given to the adjustment of rents out of Court, and without the filing of claims. Those landlords should be specially commended on whose estates fewest claims had to be tried in Court. By getting in the claims, each year, for the area to be settled by the 31st May, there would be four months between the filing of claims and the beginning of field work. In this interval a great deal could be done to save time during the camping season for the special local work that can only then be properly done. Tours would be laid out beforehand; information about the tracts to be visited, collected from settlement reports, assessment papers, field registers, rent-rolls, and the decisions in previous rent suits. The average prices could be ascertained at which the various crops pass from the cultivator to the grain-dealer, and the average variation between those prices and the retail prices of the bazars. The extent to which cash rents have displaced rents in kind could be enquired into, the period during which the displacement has lasted, and the customary share taken by the landlord when the conversion was made.

As the issues to be decided in each claim would turn on the amount of the average produce, its average value in money on the threshing-floor at harvest time, and the customary shares prevailing when the money rent was first adopted, the hearing of claims up to, and including the striking of issues, might well take place in the long hot weather days in the station, the essential local



enquiry, for the decision of the issues, being reserved for the marching season. The two months, April and May, between the close of camp work and the final filing of claims for the next season, would be the time for working up the experience gained, exchanging views, and correcting mistakes. The ordinary Rent Courts should have no jurisdiction in the decision of these claims. They would not have the necessary knowledge or experience, or weight. The settlement of the Fair Rent must be a settlement by experts, or it will be no settlement at all.

3. *The period after which the Fair Rent, thus determined, may be revised.*—At first a shorter period should be adopted than that which it may be proposed to choose at the next revision, or when full experience has been gained of the working of the scheme. For it is inevitable that numerous mistakes should be made at first, and it is desirable that they should not remain uncorrected unduly long. At first, the period for which rents are fixed should not, I think, exceed five years. In time, seven or even ten years might be the period. In view of the oscillations of prices caused by the uncertainty of seasons, the development of roads and railways, and the fluctuations in the relative values of gold and silver, I do not think it likely to be prudent, in our time, to go beyond ten years.

The Famine Commission recommend that the rent of all classes of occupancy tenants should be fixed for the term of settlement, *i.e.*, for thirty years at a time, by the settlement officer. They say (Report II, p. 119):—"Under the present law, a landlord who has sued a tenant for an enhancement of rent, can sue him again after a period of five years in the Punjab; ten years in the North-Western Provinces; one year in Bengal, and the same in the Central Provinces in respect of a "conditional" occupant; moreover, as the landlord can thus sue his tenants in detail in successive years, the sore is constantly kept open. We are of opinion that most of these evils could be avoided by reverting to the original principle under which the rent of privileged tenants could be altered only at the same time as the revenue, and had to be fixed periodically by the same officer who fixed the revenue; so that it should be the duty of the settlement officer to assess the rent, field by field (following the practice in Southern India), and then to base his assessment of the revenue on a fixed proportion of the rent-roll; we recommend that this principle should be submitted for the favourable consideration of the governments of the different provinces concerned. If they consider that it would not be unfair to the landlords, we are of opinion that it would be advantageous to the general well-being of the country, and should be extended to all classes of occupancy tenants,



however their rights may have been acquired. If the principle were adopted, the rule for Bengal should perhaps be that a revision of rents should not take place oftener than every thirty years, although no revision of the land-revenue is to follow upon it."

This proposal seems to be open to the following, among other objections—

It would confer fixity of rent in addition to the necessary fixity of tenure for a period that seems unduly long in view of the steady growth of rent, 'the mother of revenue' in India, and of the urgent need to the State exchequer and to the proprietary bodies, of sharing this constant increment. The onus lies on the supporters of the proposal to show that a shorter period will not suffice. So far as I have been able to study the literature of the subject, I have found a remarkable silence as to the experience in India of the results of fixity of rent for thirty year periods, and an apparent assumption that the question of such long leases has been settled once for all by Mr. John Stuart Mill's celebrated panegyric on the peasant farmers of France and Belgium. A typical illustration presents itself in a recent eloquent utterance on the necessity of fixing rents for thirty years in Oudh. In his "Garden of India" Mr. H. C. Irwin writes (p. 309):—"Let the peasantry of Oudh, or of any part of India, enjoy for thirty years security of tenure at a fixed rent, without the power to sub-let or mortgage their holdings, and it is hardly too much to predict that the necessity for famine relief will disappear..... This question of land-tenure is more important to the welfare of the cultivator in particular, and the empire in general than irrigation, roads, railways, improved agricultural methods, or any other thing whatsoever. The State cannot hope to do as much *for* the people as it may reasonably count on being able to do *through* them. And not only will what the people can do for themselves if they can get fair play, and if the ordinary motives to exertion are allowed to operate, be far greater in amount than any thing that can possibly be done for them, but it will be more intrinsically valuable, inasmuch as it will not only improve their material condition, but will also tend to raise their character as human beings. There is no question in Oudh of the relative merits of *grande* and *petite culture*, for the sufficient reason that the power cannot be said to exist..... Given, then, *petite culture*, the problem before us is to make the best of it. The agricultural system of Oudh is, speaking broadly, a system of large estates divided into very small farms, occupied by tenants-at-will cultivating with their own stock, and without any security of tenure. Under such conditions *petite culture* never has succeeded, and it may be safely prophesied that



it never will succeed. For the one great strong point of *petite culture*, by peasant proprietors, or by rent-paying cultivators secure of their tenure, is the ardour of individual industry with which it inspires the cultivator. It is this which has enabled it to triumph over all the superior advantages of capital and machinery possessed by large farmers. But that ardour of individual industry cannot exist where there is not perfect security that it shall enjoy the fruit of its own labour. This truth has been at last, though inadequately, recognized in Ireland; it is surely time that it began to be recognized in Oudh."

With almost every line in this admirable passage, I cordially agree, except the words 'for thirty years.'

Security of tenure at a Fair Rent, and security of reaping the fruit of his labours, are, without doubt, the paramount wants of the Indian ryot.

But where is the proof that these requirements cannot be met without fixity of rents for thirty years at a time? Where is there any reference to the lessons to be got from Indian experience of the very system advocated? Where is there any demonstration that this part of the Famine Commission's proposals has any warrant in past indigenous custom, or that it will certainly, *in India*, secure the proper protection and improvement of the land, or elevate the ryot to any high condition of comfort and happiness? Such evidence as is at hand, seems to me to point the opposite way.

"The tenure," say the Famine Commission (Report II, p. 3) "of the Government ryot of Southern India is as secure and simple as can well be conceived. He holds his land in proprietary right, subject to the payment of the assessed revenue, which is fixed for a period of thirty years. He has the option of resigning his entire holding or any individual field at the end of the agricultural year. His improvements cannot be made a ground for increasing his assessment at the time of the periodical settlement. He can sell, mortgage, or let his land to any one without requiring the consent of Government, and at his death the land descends to his children according to the rules of inheritance." About three-fourths of Madras is held under this tenure. The number of proprietary ryots is 2,392,064, and they pay an average assessment of sixteen rupees each. One and a quarter million of them (1,251,750) pay an average assessment of only four rupees.—(*Ibid.*)

Here then is the *petite culture*, combined with security of tenure, security of reaping the fruits of labour, and fixity of rents for thirty years at a time, at work, *in India*, on a sufficiently large scale to furnish conclusive data as to its efficacy. It has been at work for more than half a century. Successive improvements



have been made in the equitable assessment of the Government demand. In 1837 it was decided that there should be no increase of demand on account of the growth of more valuable kinds of produce. In 1852, that no ryot was to pay a higher rent on account of improvements, made by himself, and causing an increase of value. In 1854, previous assessments having been too high, the revenue, that is the rent demand, was reduced by £259,000. (Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India 1872-73, p. 23).

Various passages in the Commission's Report lead to the belief that the results of this tenure in Madras are disappointing.

The Madras ryot is no exception to the general rule of indebtedness. "We learn," say the Commission (Report II, p. 131) "from evidence collected from all parts of India, that about one-third of the landholding class are deeply and inextricably in debt, and that at least an equal proportion are in debt, though not beyond the power of recovering themselves..... It does not appear that in this respect one province greatly differs from another, but certain localities are, from special circumstances, either above or below the general condition. Thus..... in Madras the ryots of the deltas are in easy circumstances. On the other hand, the precarious outturn of the crops, with other adverse circumstances, has grievously depressed the landholders of the Bombay-Deccan and the adjoining districts of Madras.

In respect of improvements, too, progress seems to have been unsatisfactory. For, in January 1878, the Secretary of State found occasion to ask "whether the practical effect of the tenure which is most prevalent in the Madras Presidency is to disincline the tenant from expending his labour or his money on the excavation of wells." The Commission do not say how the Madras Government answered the question, but remark, not very explicitly, (Report II, p. 112):—"All the information that we have received tends to show that, in lands where the occupants hold of Government under the ryotwari tenure, no such disinclination arises from the cause alleged, but in zemindari estates, where the occupants have not the protection of this tenure, they are represented as being unwilling to sink their money in these investments. Where such unwillingness exists under the ryotwari tenure, it may spring from want of capital, from indifference or want of enterprise, or from doubt as to the profits to be earned by the investment."

The effect of the Madras system on land improvement may perhaps be traced more definitely by examining the extent of irrigation there, of a kind that the ryot can supply, and the present state of the simpler irrigational works. The Commission's information as to irrigated areas in Madras is acknowledged by them



to be defective, but their conclusion is (Report II, p. 85), that not more than twenty-five per cent. of the cultivated area under the ryotwari tenure is irrigated. Of this irrigated area about two-sevenths is protected by wells made by the ryots, and is not assessed as irrigated; two-sevenths is protected by Government irrigation works, and about three-sevenths by tanks.

The village tanks (Report II, p. 163) seem to be in a very unsatisfactory state, partly from the neglect of the ryots and the disuse of statute-labour for their repair, and partly from the transfer of the duty of initiating tank repairs from the revenue officers to the Public Works Department. The Commission recommend the immediate revival of the custom of statute-labour and the imposing on the ryots of the obligation of doing the ordinary work necessary to maintain their tanks and channels in proper order.

It will doubtless be urged that these disappointing results are chiefly due to the fact that over the greater part of the area of Madras, artificial irrigation is impossible (*Imperial Gazetteer* IV, p. 122); and that where this impossibility does not exist, over assessments, the free right of transfer, and undue sub-division of holdings have prevented the triumph of the *petite culture*. It must be left to Madras experts to say how far this is the case. Meanwhile those who are without this special knowledge cannot help being struck by the contrast between the excellence of the tenure, as attested by the Famine Commission, and the apparent poorness of the results. If the state of things in Bellary, as described in Mr. H. D. Phillip's "Blacker Pamphlet," is typical of the condition of other Madras districts, then the ryotwari tenure has not had a fair chance, and the Famine Commission have formed a very erroneous impression as to its working in Madras, and in particular, as to the true cause of the failure to improve the land.

This question of ten years or thirty years' leases was carefully examined during the passage of the North-Western Provinces Rent Bill of 1873, through Council. The Bill, as originally drafted, fixed ten years as the period within which a fresh suit for enhancement might not be brought. The Select Committee at first extended the period to thirty years, but afterwards reduced it to ten years.

They said (Further Report, dated 7th October 1873) :—

"We have reduced to ten years the time for which the rent of a privileged or of an occupancy tenant may be fixed. This alteration has been made, because the majority of us, having regard to the weighty opinions given in favour of shortening the term, think it the more prudent course." One of these



weighty opinions, probably the weightiest of all, was that of the late Lieutenant-Governor, Sir William Muir. At the final debate on the Bill, on 24th November 1873, he said, on this question of ten or thirty years' leases :—

"On this he must distinctly state his belief that such a radical change in the long subsisting relations of landlords and tenants was not justifiable..... It would have been open to the British Government on its first accession to have laid down the principle, that rent and revenue were to be fixed for coterminous periods. Nay, at a much later period, while the relative rights of landlord and tenant were as yet hardly settled by the administration of a fixed and uniform system, this might have been possible. Forty years ago the proposal was urged by Mr. Robert Merttins Bird, and was then fully discussed by the Government of India and its chief officers, and the conclusion was then deliberately come to that, such a course was inconsistent with the rights of the zemindar and the prevailing condition of the cultivator. That decision might have been right or it might have been wrong; the question was no longer open to discussion. On the decision that rent was liable to enhancement was based the whole revenue system of these provinces. To have now declared rent and revenue to be equally fixed for the same term, would not only have uprooted the revenue system of more than half a century, and created new and unexpected rights, but it would have injured and abated the landed title which had grown up under that system. Properties had passed from hand to hand; estates had been sold both for Government balances and for decrees of Court; rights and expectations had grown up and become matured under the system of a modified power of enhancement to the level of prevailing rates of rent. For a great and imperious political object, indeed, it might have been open to the Government, even at the expense of these expectations, to have attested the system. No legislative enactment had expressly defined the rights of the zemindars in this respect, or limited the power of Government to interfere for the protection of the ryot. But he submitted that no such emergency now existed; and that it would have been in the last degree inexpedient and unwise to have revised the policy on which the relations of proprietor and tenant had now for so long a time adjusted themselves. The term now adopted was that which as shown by the preceding speakers, was also in accord with the existing law, under which the revenue courts could grant a potta to the cultivator for a term of ten years."

(4) *How suspensions and remissions for calamity are to be arranged for.*—It is obvious that there can be no such thing as real fixity of tenure, unless due consideration for calamity is shown in



settling and enforcing the Fair Rent. Drought, or hail, or flood, or locusts may in any year destroy the crop and throw the cultivator into arrears. Unless it can be arranged that in such cases the loss shall not wholly fall upon him, and that reasonable indulgence will be shown, it is idle to talk of security of tenure, or to fancy that the tenant can be as well off as when, under the system of payments in kind, loss was fairly shared between him and his landlord, and rent, so to speak, remitted itself. If it be agreed that the object now is to make the cultivator's tenure as secure as it used to be, then the stupidity must be realized, as well as the injustice, of refusing an indulgence that was a necessary accompaniment of grain-rents, merely because within the last few years money rents have displaced rents in kind. This consideration becomes still more urgent if it is decided that the tenant is to have no power of mortgaging his tenure.

It may at once be admitted that remissions of money rents can never be worked with the simplicity, precision and elasticity that obtain, where rents are taken in kind, from the mere fact of their being so taken. The question is, how nearly can we get back to the benefits of the old system while maintaining the new? The answer may, I think, be found by comparing the method proposed for determining the Fair Rent with the first stage of the conversion of low rents into cash rents. The proposed step backwards in the one case, and the actual step forwards in the other, meet at a point and in a way that seem to suggest what has to be done.

To find the Fair Rent, when in dispute, it has been proposed, first, to ascertain the average produce, that is, the average number of maunds of wheat, or barley, or rice, produced in average seasons by a particular field or holding; next, to ascertain the customary shares in which, if corn-rents had remained in vogue, this produce would have been divided between landlord and tenant; and, lastly, to value the landlord's customary share of the ascertained average produce, at average present prices, and to accept the result as the Fair Rent. This is the proposed step backwards.

The first step forwards in the conversion of a corn-rent into a money one, is the substitution of an *estimate* of the yield for actual weighment, and *the valuation of the landlord's customary share in the estimated yield at the harvest price of the threshing-floor*. "Batai," writes Colonel Macandrew, "is the actual division of the garnered crop between landlord and tenant. It is a common form of rent in the province." (Oudh)... "*Kankut* is also a corn-rent, but instead of being a division of the actual crop, the outturn is estimated, while the



crop is on the ground by experts some short time before it is ripe, but when it has pretty well declared itself. The additions and deductions are made as in *batai*, and in similar variety, but all the calculations are made on the estimated outturn, and the landlord's share alone is weighed out according to the result..... This mode of reducing the rent is better than *batai*, as it removes the temptation to much cheating..... *Darkatti* is the landlord's *Kankut* valued at the harvest price of the threshing-floor after all the adjustments have been made, and is, consequently, a harvest rent, and is payable in money at this valuation." ("On some Revenue Matters, chiefly in the Province of Oudh," pp. 63—79.)

In other words, *Darkatti* is an estimate of the yield of a particular harvest, and the valuation of the landlord's customary share in that yield at the price of that harvest. What, I ask, is the proposed method of settling the Fair Rent, but the mental application by experts of this very process of *Darkatti* to a sufficient number of harvests and prices to give a true average yield and a true average price?

The inference is patent. To prevent the Fair Rent of average harvests becoming an unfair rent in seasons of calamity, the tenant must be allowed to claim in such seasons a *Kankut* or estimate of yield by the village expert. The difference between the yield so estimated and the average yield as estimated when the Fair Rent was fixed, will give the measure of the difference between the ordinary Fair Rent and the rent proper to the special occasion, and, consequently, the amount to be remitted.

Perhaps it will be objected, that trustworthy experts are not to be found. I reply with the following extract, and ask whether it is likely that an institution which was in full vigour sixty years ago, is likely to be extinct now; and whether, in view of the great extent to which, in many districts, rents in kind survive to the present day, it is at all probable, that demand for this sort of skill would not rapidly develope supply.

On the 20th October 1815, the Collectors of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces were desired "to furnish the fullest and most accurate report" on the following, among other, points:—

Whether the payments of the cultivators were made in kind, or were commuted for money?

What proportion of the crop, or gross produce of the soil, was taken by the landholders in the first case?

Whether such proportion was fixed by custom, by agreement, or by the discretion of the landholder? How the money commutation for the share of the crop was adjusted where a fixed rate might not obtain?



Whether it was done by annual agreement, or by valuation, or at the discretion of the landholders?

In summarising the replies received from fourteen districts, the Board of Commissioners wrote on 5th January 1819:—"It will appear that for the more valuable articles of culture in all the districts, and for every sort of produce in some districts, money rents obtain universally, and that the tenures in kind..... prevail only for the inferior sorts of grain, and in those districts, or those particular pergunnahs where, from the nature of the soil, the want of means for artificial irrigation, and consequent dependence on the uncertainty of seasons, the tenants are not disposed to subject themselves to a certain payment. In tenures of this description the proportion of the crop, whether taken by the landholders in kind, or commuted for its value in money, is regulated by custom, which varies, according to the nature of the soil, from one-fourth and less in lands newly reclaimed, to one-half in lands under full cultivation, and the commutation for money is similarly governed by fixed custom, conformably to which the tenant purchases the landholder's share at a certain rate above the market price, after the produce of the field has been estimated by a regular appraisement on survey. Nothing would appear to be left in these village adjustments to the discretion of the landholder. The survey is superintended by the khumja, or appraiser, who, from long practice, has acquired such an accuracy of judgment as to seldom err to the extent of half a maund in his estimate of the produce of ten beegahs or more, and who, being wholly independent of the landholder, can have no inducement to forfeit this character of accuracy and impartiality, and the price is regulated by the Bunnea, or corn merchant, who, being the general surety of the tenants, and their banker in the requisite advances to them for the payment of their instalments, has a common interest with them in preventing impositions." (Selections from the Revenue Records of the North-West Provinces, 1818—1820, p. 252).

If, then, ordinary fluctuations of outturn are duly allowed for in settling the Fair Rent, and if exceptional calamities are provided for as proposed, we shall probably have restored to the cultivator as much of the old protection in bad seasons as present conditions allow, and as much as is required to give him a Fair Rent in good and bad seasons alike.

Under the head of Fair Dealing with Improvements, the chief points to be settled seem to be these:—

(1). Should any period be fixed, beyond which consideration or compensation for improvements should not be allowed?

(2). What system will secure the maximum outlay of tenant's



energy and resources on improvements, with the minimum of friction between tenant and landlord ?

(1). *Should any period be fixed, beyond which consideration or compensation for improvements should not be allowed ?*

The only true and equitable principle seems to be that, where the tenant is entitled to improve, and has improved, the period during which his right to compensation should be recognised, must be co-extensive with the period during which the increase to letting value, caused by the improvement, continues in an appreciable degree. This principle is followed in the Rent-law of the North-West Provinces, under which the right to compensation only ceases when the improvement is exhausted ; the test being that the annual letting value of the land continues, or has ceased to be increased. But in Oudh, where reasonable legislation about rent has still to be achieved, compensation for improvement, even though unexhausted, cannot be claimed after thirty years have passed since the outlay took place. As Mr. Irwin observes :—  
 "Why the limit of thirty years was fixed is not clear. The original phrase employed was 'unexhausted improvements,' which was obviously much more fair. The imposition of a thirty years limit merely postpones for that period the landlord's power of appropriating the fruits of another's labour. As long as the improvements have any appreciable value, so long should the tenant, if ejected, be deemed entitled to compensation for them." (Garden of India, p. 295).

The conjecture may be hazarded that, in the minds of those who were responsible for the Oudh Rent Act (XIX of 1868), there may have been a rather close connexion between the thirty years' period of the State settlements of land-revenue, and the thirty years' period in bar of compensation for improvement. It was perhaps felt that to insist on an indefinite period during which ordinary tenants' claims to compensation for improvements might remain in force, might furnish an inconvenient precedent for the State tenants, the talukdars and zemindars of Oudh,—to plead in respect of their improvements at the next revision of the revenue demand.

No argument seems to be wanted to show that to restrict a tenant's enjoyment of the fruits of his labour and outlay to thirty years is an arbitrary curtailment of his equitable rights.

(2). *What system will secure the maximum outlay of tenant's energy and resources on improvements with the minimum of friction between landlord and tenant ?*

The maximum outlay of the tenant's improving power will be obtained when the greatest possible security is given him of permanently enjoying the full fruit of his labours, and the greatest



possible facility for saving, or borrowing, the required capital. The minimum of friction will be reached when the respective rights of landlord and tenant as to the making of improvements are equitably defined, and an end is thereby put to the present feeling that one loses when the other improves.

The first of these three requirements will be attained if, at the settlement of the Fair Rent, the increase to average gross produce traceable to an unexhausted improvement made exclusively by the tenant, is deducted from the estimate of gross produce on which the shares and their valuation in money are determined ; if a proportionate deduction is made when the tenant has contributed only a portion of the outlay ; and if, should ejectment take place, fair compensation be payable for the value of the tenant's share in such unexhausted improvement.

The greatest possible facility for saving, or borrowing, the capital required will be afforded when the tenant obtains fixity of tenure at a Fair Rent, which, being lower than a rack-rent, will leave some margin out of which a thrifty tenant may save ; when advances for land improvements are procurable at the lowest rate of interest, for the most convenient periods, and with the greatest simplicity of procedure, that can be afforded or devised ; when the cost of production is lowered, and the value of the tenant's share of the produce enhanced, by a general system of State advances at low interest for the cultivation, at first, of such staples only as are best suited for export to foreign markets, but to be extended ultimately to all cultivation by trustworthy tenants ; and when State and zemindar, by each undertaking their full share in the enterprise of improving the lands, reduce the bulk and cost of the ryot's share in the enterprise, and so present to him an object for effort within his means and strongly attractive to his self-interest.

In my chapters on 'a larger yield,' 'cheaper production,' and a 'better market,' I hope to show how these things may be done.

In attempting to define equitably the respective rights of landlords and tenants as to improvements, the leading points to be kept in view seem to be these :—The improvement of the land is primarily and preferentially the duty of the rent-receiver, that is, in India, of the State and the zemindar.

Neglect on the part of the rent-receiver to perform this duty confers on the rent-payer the right to perform it instead.

Wherever the rent-receiver, whether State only, as in ryotwari districts, or State and zemindar, as in 'settled' districts, neglects to perform this duty, he throws away an opportunity of developing and insuring his income from the land, and has no



just right to complain if the tenant steps in, asserts his right to perform the neglected duty, and reaps the reward.

In the present undeveloped and unprotected condition of the greater part of the cultivated area of India, the State cannot afford to allow any removable obstacles to stand in the way of land improvement.

There is ample scope for the enterprise of State, landlord, and tenant.

The object of the State should be, as a matter of expediency no less than of duty, to work as nearly as possible up to the full measure of its opportunities and powers as chief landlord.

In temporarily settled districts its position, as receiver of half the rental, indicates that it should aim at doing half the work of improvement itself, and at persuading and helping the zemindar first, and, failing him, the tenant, to do the other half. In ryotwari districts, where the State is sole landlord, it should, theoretically, charge itself with the whole work of improvement. If the magnitude of the task makes it impossible to do this, it should at least aim at doing half the work, and securing, consequently, half the profits, and at assisting and persuading the ryots to do the other half.

In permanently settled districts the sphere of this duty of the State is greatly narrowed. The limits marked out by its exclusion from a share in the increased income from improvements seem to comprise such outlay as will protect and insure its land income, and the same efforts to persuade and assist the zemindar and tenant to improve as are proposed to be made in the temporary settled and ryotwari districts.

One great principle must be everywhere preached and everywhere practised, that, whichever of the three, State, landlord, or tenant, improves the land, shall be secured in the full enjoyment of such increase of the produce or rent as is caused by the improvement, *so long as that increase continues to exist*.

It should be said, in effect, to every zemindar and ryot in India :—" *Thou shalt eat the labour of thine hands ; happy shalt thou be, and it shall be well with thee.*" How to carry out this principle, and the necessity of carrying it out, will be the special subject of the next chapter.

ARTHUR HARRINGTON.

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## ART. VII—SIR THOMAS ROE, AND THE COURT OF JEHANGEER.

I INTEND to sketch briefly the careers of a few of the principal representatives of the Company and of the Crown in the East. I shall try and select them, if possible, as representative characters, and shall commence with Sir Thomas Roe.

The history of Sir Thomas Roe is so well known from his own diary, that the historian or the annalist can scarcely

Sir Thomas Roe. add to the pleasing portrait which he has bequeathed of himself to posterity.

He was born at Low Layton in Essex, in the year 1604; was educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, and was knighted in 1604. He embarked on a voyage to America, and, on his return to England, still eagerly desirous of travelling, he accepted the office of Ambassador to the Court of the Great Mogul. Few men could have been better selected for this office than Sir Thomas Roe. To great tact he added diplomatic skill of the highest order. He had early distinguished himself by talents for business and command. He was a model of courtly grace, and in after life he became a judicious patron of arts and letters. He always acted under a strict, uncompromising sense of duty, and his bold bearing and manly demeanour tended to create a stronger impression on the Court of Jehangere. Unlike the other ambassadors who were admitted to the presence chamber of the Mogul, he was no flatterer. Succeeding such men as Hawkins, Canning, Kerridge, and Edwards, who had not the powers of ambassadors, and who were not distinguished for any diplomatic skill, it was left to Sir Thomas Roe to carry out, through long years of painful suspense and disappointment, negotiations which at last ended in a treaty of alliance between the Mogul Court, and the Company's representatives, a treaty which had for its basis the encouragement and protection of trade then carried on by the factors of Surat. On his arrival at Surat, Sir Thomas Roe was received in open Durbar by the Governor and the native functionaries. On his introduction to the Prince he determined not to imitate the other ambassadors and courtiers, by entering his presence in a crawling attitude.

Sir Thomas Roe, in his own quaint manner, describes his first introduction. "An officer told me, as I approached, that I must touch the ground with my head bare, which I refused, and went on to a place, right under him, railed in, with an ascent of three steps, where I made him reverence, and he bowed



his body. So I went within, where were all the great men of the town, with their hands before them like slaves. Having no place assigned, I stood right before him, he refusing to admit me to come up the steps or to allow me a chair." The interview was not prolonged. But Sir Thomas obtained an attentive hearing.

From Surat Sir Thomas and his chaplain proceeded to Berhampore. There he met Parweez, the youngest son of the Emperor. He was gratified with the reception he met with. A hundred native horsemen formed a lane, through which the Ambassador of King James and his suite approached the palace. Parweez is described as being seated within an inner court, surrounded by his nobles and chief officers of State. The Prince was seated on a raised platform or dais, and the conversation carried on during the interview was translated by an interpreter. The platform was covered with a rich canopy of cloth, and carpets were spread on the floor. Such presents as were brought by the Ambassador were received with eagerness, and the interview was brought to an abrupt termination by the Prince becoming intoxicated with the wine with which he was presented by the Ambassador. After visiting the town of Berhampore, the English Ambassador proceeded to join the Court of the Emperor which was then at Ajmere. In October Sir Thomas Roe and his suite were agreeably pleased with the mildness of the climate. Travelling in a strange country, and amongst novel scenes, was interesting. There was a constant change of scene, and in that change there was something of novelty. The mountain passes, and the deep defiles may have reminded him of some of the hill scenery with which his adventures in America had made him familiar, while the bare and barren plains, so admirably adapted for a charge of cavalry, may have suggested to his small train ideas of those immense hordes of Indian cavalry then led by the Mahratta chieftains, and which were so frequently in the habit of scouring those barren tracts on their way to the sack and plunder of defenceless towns. The journey in those days, from one native town to another was very different from what it is now. It then took as long to travel over one hundred miles as it does now to traverse the Peninsula from end to end. Sir Thomas Roe took several months to reach Delhi. It was fortunate for him that at that time the Court of Jehangeer was held at Ajmere. For he could there obtain an interview without first going to Delhi. From Berhampore Sir Thomas Roe proceeded thither. The Emperor was courteous, and received the Ambassador with civility. The Empress Noorjehan might well have been ranked amongst the most celebrated of Indian beauties. She was not less remarkable for her varied accomplishments. She could write poetry, and read and write Persian despatches.



She was a great improvisatrice and charmed alike by her manners and conversation. Her good taste increased the splendour of her husband's court; her economy reduced his expenditure; her tact conciliated some of his worst enemies. The invention of attar of roses is attributed to her. Her consummate ability in statecraft rendered her a fit consort for the Emperor. She loved him to the last, and, when she died, she was buried by his side at her own request at Lahore, although the princely marble mausoleum of the Taj Mehal, built in remembrance of her, still shows the graves inlaid with rich and precious gems and stones, under the vast white marble dome, which, for centuries past, has formed one of the wonders of the world; the spot where the royal consorts were intended to be buried, but where they were not.

When the presents came to be examined Jehangeer did not seem well pleased. He inspected with childish curiosity each article as it was presented, and would have turned from them with an ill-disguised sneer if he had not fancied some English mastiffs' superior in breed to any of the dogs which he was accustomed to see. A carriage made in London also was received with pleasure.

And now an incident occurred which, in the despotic court of the Mogul barbarians, might have terminated fatally for the interests of the East India Company. Among the smaller presents brought by the Ambassador, concealed amongst other articles, was a small picture, in a frame, which was scarcely a gift to be presented to an Emperor. It is quite possible that Sir Thomas Roe, who had not formed an accurate idea of the barbaric pomp and splendour of the court of this sovereign, would have been better pleased to have allowed it to remain undisturbed, but for the childish inquisitiveness of the Emperor himself, who commenced fumbling in the chest, until he drew out this picture. It was intended to represent Venus leading a satyr by the nose. The vanity of the Emperor was wounded. He ascribed a personal motive to the Ambassador in bringing this picture to him. The picture was intended, he said, to be a satire upon himself and his court. He was the satyr and the fair beauty who was leading the satyr captive could not be intended for any one else but the beautiful Noorjehan, his most favored mistress, the light of his harem. If it was not intended as a representation of himself, then the picture was an allegory, symbolical of his people, and of his courtiers. The satyr was painted black; this indicated but too plainly that it was intended for his people; the sensual characteristics, but too coarsely depicted in the treatment of the satyr, and the blind unresisting manner in which he allowed himself to be led, but too clear denoted the great influence of women over men in India. The Emperor's



wrath waxed great. He turned to the Ambassador and asked him what he meant by having such a picture in his collection. He savagely interrogated the chaplain ; but, as neither Sir Thomas Roe, nor his chaplain could explain any hidden meaning in the picture, he demanded with great anger why they brought him things which they did not understand.

As, however, none of his courtiers could see any meaning in the picture, he allowed his temper to cool down ; and Sir Thomas Roe was permitted to depart for the day. But the Emperor was not satisfied, until he was again told by the Ambassador that the picture was not meant as a reflection on him and his Empress. Sir Thomas Roe was soon after invited to some entertainments, when he found that the Emperor was greatly addicted to wine. Indeed, the stronger the wine the better did he appreciate it. The professors of ancient magic found powerful auxiliaries in those exhilarating draughts and narcotic drugs which hold in chains while they derange the intellect of men. Fable points to the Old Man of the Mountain as enchanting and enslaving his youthful followers with intoxicating beverages. Sir Thomas Roe was not long to learn that, if the fickle Emperor was to be won over, it could only be through the medium of presents of costly and untasted wines. Shortly afterwards, writing to the Directors of the East India Company, he thus addressed them, "There is nothing more welcome here, nor did I ever see men so fond of drink as the King and Prince are of red wine, whereof the Governor of Surat sent up some bottles ; and the King has ever since solicited for more. I think four or five casks of that wine will be more welcome than the richest jewel in Cheap-side."

Indeed, the Emperor himself confesses that he drank constantly, for nine years, of doubled distilled spirits, fourteen cups in the day, and six cups in the night, which he says were altogether equal to six seers or English quarts. But this monarch also indulged in intoxicating drugs. What the *Nepenthé* of Homer was to the Greek, what the *Potomantis* and the *Achamenis* of Pliny was to the ancient Roman, what the *Ophiusia*, was to the Ethiopian, what opium is to the Chinese, what the *Muchamore* is to the savage of *Kamktschatka*, that and even more was the *Hyoscyamus datura* to this despotic monarch, ruling over the destinies of nearly two million of human souls. The example set in the court was followed in the city. It was copied largely by the soldiers in camp. Fiction informs us that the waters of *Lethe* and the intoxicating draughts of *Mnemosyne* quaffed in the stalactite caverns of *Trophonius* killed *Timochares* in three months. The imagination of the poet could scarcely have found a more potent agency of



intoxication, steeping the senses in stupefaction, ultimately ending in physical and intellectual degradation, than in the datura of India.

Sir Thomas Roe was frequently asked to the Emperor's drinking parties. These were attended by the principal favourites at Court, and each drank to outtire the other. The Alikant wine was drunk deeply. But, according to the Ambassador, the Great Mogul used to drink a liquor much more potent still.

Under the influence of this wine he used to cry, or laugh himself to sleep, but if he was reminded of it next day, his revenge on his boon companions evinced itself in a manner perfectly characteristic. He would call for a list of the invited and honoured guests, and would fine them, some one, some two, and some three thousand rupees, and some that were nearer his person he caused to be whipped before him, they receiving a hundred and thirty stripes with a terrible instrument, having, at the end of four cords, irons, like spur rowels, so that every stroke made four wounds. Thus most cruelly mangled and bruised, they were carried out, and one of them died on the spot.

In spite of example so terrible, his principal courtiers nightly encouraged him to drink. Like the Great Mogul, they were all devout Mussulmans. They repeated their prayers five times daily in the open squares and corners of the city. They religiously carried out the precepts of the Koran, in allowing themselves the full complement of wives. But when noon was past, or when the first watch of the night set in, they repaired to the Emperor's nightly symposia, and drank in defiance of the injunctions of the Koran. After several evasions and refusals, Sir Thomas Roe at length accomplished the object of his mission. He obtained an honorable composition for previous losses and extortions, and he also gained permission to establish a factory at Broach. He left, impressed with the dignity of the Emperor and the grandeur of his court, but still more impressed with the despotic sway which he beheld there. Nor could it have been otherwise in an Oriental court. Even the strong mind of Jehangeer was warped by the influences which surrounded him. Nowhere more than in Oriental courts are the intoxicating qualities of absolute power felt, or the poisonous charms and the bewitching voices of insincere flatterers heard. From his first accession to power Jehangeer was taught that the most sacred laws that rule over a people must give place to kings; that a king should be above the laws; that his will should be unfettered; that everything should be sacrificed to his Imperial dignity; that the rights of a people should be trampled under foot; that they should be condemned to tears and labor, to confiscation and oppression; that they should be ruled by an iron sceptre; that their rights and



liberties should give place to the wishes of the sovereign. Thus led from snare to snare, from abyss to abyss, there was no wonder that the most powerful monarch who sat on the throne of Akbar should have sometimes lost all discernment between virtue and vice, between right and wrong. On arriving at Delhi, then the seat of the Government, Sir Thomas was much pleased with that city. He had ample opportunity, when staying as the guest of the Emperor, of studying it, as well as its architecture. Of the buildings that he saw none struck him so forcibly as the palace. It stood on the west bank of the Jumna, and was more than a mile in circumference. In durability of material, and in architectural appearance it presented an appearance far superior to Windsor. It was surrounded by a deep ditch, the sides of which were flanked with massive granite or red sandstone. Embattled walls of massive granite and limestone, thirty feet high, and loop-holed for cannons, musketry and arrows, looked frowningly down upon the city and the silver street, which in the seventeenth century might have been said to be one of the best built streets in any city in the world. From the embattlements might be seen the turbid waters of the Jumna flowing rapidly below. Looking towards the city might be seen countless minarets, cupolas and domes. In the distance rose a few green hills, the haunts of deer, the Emperor's well kept preserves of game. Against the sky the outline of the palace presented a line of straight embattlements, surmounted by a cluster of white minarets and domes. The fort itself stood upon a spacious esplanade on the west bank of the river.

It was approached through that wide street, still famous for its canal, fringed with green, which was designed by Ali Verdan Khan, whose magnificent aqueduct is still remembered in connexion with his name, and which then conveyed the waters of the Jumna, from their pure fount in the Himalayan range, more than one hundred and twenty miles, to the capital of the Mogul.

Inside the walls of the fort was the hall of audience, built of snow white marble, with a terrace running round it. The walls were frescoed with mosaics, and arabesques, inlaid with marbles of various colors, added to its brilliancy.

Pillars, sculptured in bas-relievo, supported the gilded and fretted roof. At night, when lit up by numerous wax-lights, when the perfume of the attar of roses, mingled with the incense, scented the atmosphere, when innumerable dancing-girls lent a charm to the passing hour, and when pastilles of sandalwood and of the sweet scented grass of Cashmere, smouldering in silver burners arranged along the hall, intoxicated the senses with their perfume, this hall looked its best.



In the centre stood the throne. It rested on a solid marble basis upon a tiger couchant. It was surmounted by a peacock, the beak of which was a large emerald, while the feathers of its breast and tail were ornamented with emeralds and rubies and turquoise. Beyond this throne were chairs of gold filigree work for the princes, and beyond them were carpets placed *à la turque* for the principal courtiers.

On the verge of the carpets sat the secretaries, or munshees, cross-legged, with writing materials before them.

A silk curtain, festooned and drawn across between two pillars, revealed a shifting mass of varied colors beyond, of turbans and jewels of courtiers and armed men between a long vista of marble columns, inscribed with passages of the Koran, shewing, further on, a motley collection of copper colored personages bowing with many a profound salaam as the Emperor entered. His standard bearer was an Afghan.

The Afghan courtier was a favourite of the Emperor's. He was tall and muscular. His complexion was a dark olive. His nose was aquiline, his eyes black and glittering. He wore a magnificent black beard. His general appearance, while it was of a strong, muscular physical development, indicated also a strange absence of activity. In years past he had been bred up to the desert; and although he was now received at court, and sat amongst the big-turbaned and gaily dressed courtiers of the Mogul, the slovenliness of his dress betrayed the child of the desert. His turban was of a bright blue check, with a gold fringe, but he wore it as Arabs wear their turbans—loosely and inelegantly tied.

His costume consisted of a loose blouse with loose sleeves, and wide trowsers, worn according to the Arab fashion, and was remarkable for elegance and cleanness. Over his shoulder he wore a bright red cashmere shawl, and in his hand were always to be seen an Afghan knife and a silver mounted dagger. Compared with the Hindoo and Musulman courtiers, his bearing was dignified and grave, while his blunt and large features were expressive of frankness. The standard embroidered with gold, which, like the oriflamme of St. Denis, was only unfurled when the king took the field, was held by him near the throne.

But if Sir Thomas admired the Afghan standard bearer, he had reason to dislike Mocrif Khan the rooted enemy of England, and Asòf Khan, who had succeeded as Prime Minister. But for the opposition he met with from them, he would have obtained, without much difficulty, all he had sought from the inconstant Prince who then reigned. That he was ultimately successful, was due to his tact and to his perseverance. The firman which



he at last got, was accompanied by a courteous letter addressed to the King of England.

Sir Thomas has left a pleasant memoir of the court and camp of the Emperor; how he spent his whole life in public, how in the morning it was his wont to come before an open window or a balcony, and exhibit himself to the crowd that daily assembled to see him, how at noon he used to return to the same balcony to be entertained with combats of wild beasts; how in the afternoon he used to seat himself in durbar in the hall of audience for all who presented themselves on business; how in the evening his wont was again to appear in an open court called the *Guzel Khau*, where he spent the time in gay and familiar conversation with his favorites; how he used to give publicity to all his proceedings and ordinances, acts and edicts, by having them daily written down and allowing them to be perused by the public, how on the royal weighing-day the Emperor's person, arrayed in full pomp, was weighted first against rupees, then against gold and jewels, next against rich cloth and spices, and lastly against corn, meat and butter, and how on his birthdays he used to scatter rubies, and gold and silver almonds, to be scrambled for by his courtiers.

Sir Thomas Roe remained four years at the court of the Emperor Jehangeer. During his residence in the East he made some valuable collections of ancient manuscripts, among the most interesting of which was the Alexandrian M.S.S. of the New Testament. Some of the more valuable of his collections may still be seen at the Bodleian Library. He obtained a ratification of the treaty, by which was conceded to the English nation the right to establish factories on the western coast of India and to trade with any part of the Bengal Empire, Surat and Bengal especially.

G. W. CLINE., L.L.D., F.G.S.



ART. VIII.—SOCIAL LIFE IN BENGAL FIFTY YEARS  
AGO, BY AN OLD INDIAN.

(Continued from "*Calcutta Review*," October 1881.)

*III.—At Play and in Sport.*

NO view of the times of which we write would be complete without a glance at the amusements and sports which diverted the bygone people. These amusements and sports were entered into most heartily by them, and sometimes took up, as will be seen, several days, and even weeks, to the exclusion of all but the most pressing business. On such occasions everything had to give way to them. Cutcherries were practically closed, country-produce neglected, and factories left to the care of *gomastahs*. Not only did these sports and amusements lend a healthier hue to the face, activity to the frame, and strength to the muscle, but they brought together in the happiest possible way the entire body of Europeans of a district, and sometimes of more districts than one, and imparted a healthier tone to the mind for business itself. Our fathers did not believe in the present motto of "all work and no play," but they believed in a due admixture of both. Just as the schoolboy looks forward to his holiday, and makes the most of it when it comes; so these early Anglo-Indians regarded and used their sports and pastimes, their tiger, buffalo, and pig hunts, their races, and their balls. On grand occasions, the invitations went out far and wide months beforehand, and, a week or so before the event, people began to assemble, and new or unaccustomed faces, often familiar and friendly ones, began to be seen.

*Tiger and other hunts.*

To hunt and shoot the tiger, to destroy the great Bengal scourge and terror, was the most respectable, as it was the most dangerous but one (the buffalo) sport. It presented all the features and afforded all the enjoyment of a prolonged rural picnic, especially to the non-combatants—for often there were ladies included in the party, especially on the grand occasions. There were ladies then willing to incur all the hardships of a campaign against tigers without the danger of actually going out to shoot them. The actual shooting and chances of being mauled by a brute were of course reserved for the older and younger Nimrods. From bagging birds, deer-shooting, buffalo-hunting, and pig-sticking, to be described further on, ladies were,



of course, always absent, as these sports afforded none of the features of a picnic, and were generally undertaken either singly or in small parties. Hunting the bear and other mountain animals, on or near the snowy range, was not known in those days, and, indeed, we had then no Himalayan country, except a very small part of Kumaon to call our own. Tiger-hunting used to be either a hurried incident, or a grand prolonged amusement. The former may be dismissed in a few words. If one of the brutes was reported to be particularly near at hand, or accessible, any "pale-faced" warrior who happened to be the first to get the news, furbished up his "Joe Manton," ("Manton" was great in sporting circles in those days, and "Westley Richards" was only beginning to acquire that reputation which is still so justly great, while there were no breech-loaders), improvised an elephant from some corner—and elephants were more common in those times in private and native hands—and started for the spot. Sometimes he proved successful, sometimes unsuccessful; but we can hardly recollect an instance in which he paid the penalty of his life. If he succeeded in disposing of the "*bāgh*," he never ceased, if he was a very young hand, to bring up all the thrilling incidents connected with the occasion, sometimes with extraordinary additions arising from a liberal imagination or a love of the marvellous, for at least a year after. If alone, he certainly had more genuine sport than if one of a large party. If there was no elephant near at hand, or the tiger could not be more openly secured, he had recourse to the *machan*, or elevated seat in a tree near the observed haunt of the brute. There the ardent hunter sat, or lay, with rifles, guns, ammunition, and provender stores, till he secured the animal. In our opinion much of the early prestige of Englishmen in India was owing, not so much to their fair complexions and strange dress and manners, as to their following this and other very dangerous sport. The natives, Mahomedans and Hindus alike, were accustomed to look on the tiger as a dreaded monster, and the latter even regarded him as divine! To see these ruddy, white faced foreigners, even the youngest of them, going forth often single-handed to deal with such a brute, and regarding it in the light of a sport, or *tumasha*, struck them with amazement. They could not explain it, except on the supposition that Englishmen were something super-human. These single hunts after tigers have very much dropped off now, and we often, too, hear of accidents. Not only have settlement and cultivation extended greatly, but the princely planter race has disappeared; the assistants at such factories as are left are of a different breed; the civilians, too, have fallen off in this respect—



bound in the trammels of red-tape they cannot help it—and tigers, too, have retreated.

The tiger had his well known districts, where he had lived for generations with wife, family, and numerous feline congeners. In some parts he was as numerous as bees in a hive. One of the greatest of spring weather enjoyments was to look forward to the annual tiger-shooting excursion. The chiefs of the party were the Sudder planter, who came in for the lion's share of the cost, the Commissioner of the District or Division, and occasionally the Colonel of the regiment. Round these redoubted leaders, their younger fellows, assistants and subordinates ranged themselves, with not seldom visitors from distant places, even as far as Calcutta. Most of the details as regards the numerical strength of the party, the ladies composing the same, the route, the modes of transmission, the dates of the start and assemblage, the number of elephants, and the scene of operations, used to be fixed long beforehand in consultation, during morning or evening walks and rides, by the chiefs. Generally the planter, as well as providing elephants, had to put every thing in right train. The Commissariat was under the charge of one; the arms and ammunition of another (though every one looked after this particular himself, with the aid of his "bearer" and chupprassees); a Quartermaster General was appointed, and tents of the most comfortable and even luxurious dimensions and makes were forthcoming; the ladies who were to accompany the party and keep it in perfect good humour throughout, were known, and everything went "as merry as a marriage bell." Especially did new-comers enjoy the prospect in anticipation. In these tiger hunts, both before and while they lasted, there was enough of both novelty and anticipation, and thus there were all the elements of pleasure. There was an entire cessation and relief from work. The change from the monotony of station life was in itself very great. Every day the same old roads and rides, and the same faces, though there was no such thing as *ennui* in those days in India, gave way to new country, prolonged elephant rides, and a mode of life less artificial than ordinary in its simplicity and freedom. The weather, too, at such seasons used to be all that could be wished. There was no fatigue in exertion, and no danger of sunstroke. The mode of life in tents was one that even the dweller in a palace might envy. Large in dimensions, often with several rooms, and even verandahs and a bathroom; comfortably furnished with camp-cots, chairs, tables and *teepoys*, and perhaps with some of Dickens's or Lever's earlier works, then just coming out, and numbers of *Punch*; laid down with thick carpets or sutringees; they left little further



to be desired in the way of accommodation. The discussion of the events of the day on further plans of the campaign of an evening round the dinner table, with playing of draughts and chess, and smoking without, were also so many things thrown in extra. Up early in the morning, before even cock-crow, shaved (there was much shaving in those days), bathed and dressed, a substantial breakfast followed. Guns and arms were then brought out, elephants were saddled, and chupprassees ran about hither and thither. At daylight the party were all off, leaving the tents in charge of the ladies, the servants, and the camp-followers. On occasions ladies were not slow to get on the elephants, too, and go through the entire day's hunt. Generally more than one got on one elephant, and the peon occupied the back seat of the *howdah*, with ammunition and provender stores. Guns and rifles stood handy in front. The *mahout* then urged the elephant, and the party went off in different directions, some keeping together, and some getting away; nearly every white face covered with a broad sola hat. When a tiger was sighted, generally the most experienced hand present took the first shot. Sometimes at very close quarters the tiger made a bound on to the head of the elephant and succeeded in planting his claws in the trunk or the head. The elephant, however, knew how to receive the rush and charge of the tiger, so as to fling him off or place him at a disadvantage, so as to be quickly shot down from the party perched above, or himself succeeded in so mauling and stamping the life out of the tiger that there was little left of him to shoot. When, however, the elephant was new to the sport, and the tiger succeeded in getting on to his head, not only the life of the *mahout*, but of those on the *howdah*, stood in considerable jeopardy, for he would become either ungovernable in his efforts to get rid of his enemy, or start off at a furious pace through the jungle, where often the branches of trees stood in the way of the riders, and this even after the tiger had been got rid of. Sometimes the *mahout* had to use his heavy iron prod to bang the tiger off the elephant's head and his own person. On very rare occasions was the *mahout* himself pulled off by the tiger; and on still rarer occasions did the tiger succeed, by a well-directed leap, in planting himself either right in front or in the midst of the group on the top, or in climbing up, when, if he did not instantly meet with his quietus by a well aimed ball or two, the situation was one of extreme peril. Very, seldom, however, has any rider or *mahout* been ever seriously hurt or killed. The old and experienced civilian, or planter, *shikari* remained quite cool in the presence and midst of the greatest danger, and often preferred to deal with the tiger at close quarters.



As the day wore on and the sun grew hotter, the party returned to quarters, and after a good bath, betook themselves to a substantial tiffin, and thereafter there was rest and recreation for all except the cooks till the grand reunion at dinner in the evening, followed by the usual social chit-chat, &c. Dead tigers used generally to be skinned, and the skin alone preserved by its destroyer as a trophy, the bullet marks being faithfully shown on these skins many years after. When the hunt was over, the tents, &c., were struck and packed up, and the route back was the order. Returned to the station, every one lived on the exploits and incidents of the hunt till the next great occasion came on.

### *Buffalo-Hunting.*

This was probably the most dangerous of all the sports, was not often followed, and has now, we believe, quite died out. Large parties were not made up to kill a buffalo, and only men of the coolest nerve, or rather reckless of life, went at this game. A herd of wild buffaloes being sighted quietly feeding in an open, or on the brink of a river, under the lead of a grand male, they were approached on horse back as noiselessly as possible and to as convenient a proximity as the nature of the ground and cover admitted, when aim was taken at a vital part, and the shot which rang out was either the death-knell of the beast, or the signal to remember the old adage that "discretion is the better part of valour." Sometimes, however a second shot quickly followed the first, and proved effectual. But if not, the male at once charged his enemy with his enormous horns, while the females scampered away in a body. Being on horseback, the daring sportsman had to keep much to the open, and, unless the horse was so fleet as to leave his pursuer far behind, or the career of the latter was cut short by his strength failing from loss of blood, or by a shot from another sportsman; or if the nature of the ground afforded a dextrous retreat, the hunter became the hunted, and a scene ensued which would be laugh inspiring were it not one that involved his very life. Making a rapid mental calculation how many minutes more and his mortal enemy would be down on him, with the bearing and position of trees, he had quickly to rein in and get off his horse, and make for the nearest tree, and climb it. The buffalo, however, would not be thus balked of his revenge. After a moment's stop in his gallop, to take in the transaction which had just passed before him, he would madly tilt up to the tree, toss about his horns, snort, and look up, and show every sign of ungovernable rage and fury. In a case that occurs to us the single hunter was besieged up in a tree by a determined buffalo for a day and a night. The infuriated beast every now and then



looked up (the hunted hunter looking down on him and grimly holding on), and then charged the tree. At length, thoroughly tired out, the beast left the next morning, after making one more final charge. When he saw the coast quite clear, the hunter dismounted, laid hold of his horse, which had not wandered away, and galloped home. His *cara sposa*, for he was married, never allowed him to go after a buffalo again. The horns of the animal formed the hunter's trophy after a successful venture, and we have seen some horns the size of which will hardly be credited.

### *Pig Sticking.*

Pig Sticking was probably the most exciting, if not the most dangerous, kind of sport in those days. It was pursued on horse-back, and with loaded spears, and sometimes used to be attended with accidents. It required a good rider, a strong arm, and a good steady aim with the spear, and was generally preferred by the younger members of the sporting community, principally the planter's assistants, to any other sport. A number of native-made spears, with handles from five to six or seven feet long, of young tough bamboo, and heavily loaded at the top, as a balance and to drive home the thrust, were always kept ready. Sharp and bright, they were formidable weapons, and used sometimes to be brought into play in the local land-fights, or fights regarding land with neighbouring zemindars. When such a spear was driven in, or delivered with full force, by a powerful arm, into a vital part, while riding past the hunted boar, the beast was generally placed *hors de combat*. There used to be more than one generally engaged in a pig-sticking match. The hunt having been determined on, the riders set out each with several spears and with such dogs as could be mustered. When the wild boar had been roused, the riders went after him, and on riding past him, digged into him with the spear. When he was thus wounded, the dogs generally fastened on to him, and ended him. But it was not always such an easy matter to deal with him. Often the first thrust only served to infuriate him, and, if the rider was not particularly quick and active in eluding him, he made an infuriated rush, which, unless checked by another well-planted thrust, usually ended in the horse's foot or side being ripped up, and horse and rider both brought down to the ground. The rider then had to save his own skin and on foot. A few dogs at such a time proved invaluable auxiliaries, though many a fine animal has met his death wound from a wounded boar. The enormous curved tusk, pointed and sharp, would do its work most effectually wherever it was brought to bear, and the short powerful neck of the boar would work with a will, the little



eyes shooting out unmitigated wrath. Just as in tiger-hunts, the skin of the brute rewarded the Anglo-Indian Nimrod, so here the tusks constituted his trophy. Pig-sticking was the occasion of many a reunion of bachelor planters and their assistants.

### *Deer-shooting.*

The Deer, it may be observed, is a far more graceful and harmless animal than any previously mentioned, and yet its shooting sometimes was not quite easy, and sometimes even dangerous. Deer may be found of various kinds and different sizes in many parts. Two varieties however—a small, and a very large one—are, or were, to be met with in Bengal, the larger variety being rarer often in woods and jungles; they may be found at early dawn, coming down to the bank of a river to drink. Their peculiar cry or call, too, cannot be mistaken. The sportsman had to rise very early for this sport, long before day-break, and clad in a real hunting suit, get to the deer haunts, and stalk along till he got his game down. Deer are not found many together, and a fine branching male, which can furnish a trophy in a good pair of horns, is not usually met with, and is therefore reckoned a prize. There is much gentle excitement in deer-shooting, and little danger to life or limb, unless the animal bears down on you and knocks you over with his horns, before he falls over himself. Unlike tiger, and other wild animals which are hunted, the flesh of the deer appears afterwards on the table, and a “haunch of venison” (though not “prime”) was no rarity on many an Indian table in the times of which we write. Most of the leading houses in those times could show numerous hunting trophies of deers’ antlers, boar’s tusks, buffalo horns, and tiger and leopard skins. Such trophies of sport and prowess are seldom now seen in the mofussil, unless as remnants of a bygone age.

India teems with birds affording excellent eating. The larger swamps and morasses, away from towns sometimes abound with them;—partridge, quail, water-hens, pheasant, plover, wild duck, flamingoes, and a variety of other migratory birds. The sky used to be streaked with long lines of these migratory birds, pursuing their flight from morning till evening, often for weeks together. They often settled on the banks of swamps, and thus afforded sport. Water dogs were necessary in such bird-sport, and a good deal of wading in water had sometimes to be gone through. The sportsman, fortified with an early substantial breakfast, with a powder and a spirit flask slung over his shoulders, the former handy, and shot belt either round his waist, or also over his shoulder, with caps, wadding, and other necessities, shouldered his favourite “Joe Manton” or “Westley Richards,” and, calling his dogs, sallied



forth, sometimes by himself, sometimes with a companion, and generally returned with a very good bag.

### *The Races.*

The races, how well we remember them! They were not the humdrum, matter-of-course, soulless, occurrences, that we have seen obtaining at a later day. With changes in other things, in the very constitution and material of European society, it cannot be expected that racing alone should have remained unaffected. The real enjoyment of racing, like that of sporting, is a thing of the past and "Ichabod" is written over most of the old race-courses of Bengal. Here, too, it was the independent element in the European community who set the example and led the way in this fine old English sport. They had the finest animals, often Arabs of high breed and value, and the other concomitants essential to success, such as spirit, cash, &c., though they were always ably seconded by the civilian element. Civilians, however, seldom possessed good horses, perhaps not deeming it worth their while to own them when they might be removed far away, and still oftener lacking the means. Yet there were several bright exceptions. The race-course of the station ran round a splendid, parklike plain, a couple of miles out of town, in the centre of which there were some Hindu temples surrounded by a clump of trees, and also a slight elevation. In length, the course was nearly two miles; and the stand was situated at the entrance to the grounds from the town side; near the stand were the weighing ground, &c. The hot weather being unfavorable to both man and horse for racing, it came off always in the cold season, and as Scotchmen predominated, on the week following New Year's day in January. This was the "race week," and used to be the most stirring, and generally most important in the whole year. Balls preceded and followed it. For months preceding the races formed a principal subject of conversation, meetings came off at which racing matters were discussed, and preliminaries arranged and fixed on. Races were chosen, and events determined, and training began early. Stewards, &c., were appointed, and wealthy natives induced to join by high example and persuasion. In some cases these natives acquired in this way a familiarity with free and easy English manners and ways which stood them in good stead in after life.

During the eventful week, the stand, which was usually deserted, had chairs placed in it; temporary stables were run up near it, for the accommodation of the racers; the weighing ground was enclosed, and coffee-stalls, where a thriving business used to be done every morning at four annas a cup, were put up



and supplied with the materials of early refreshments by private contractors. The last event at the close of the week was, generally, a hurdle race, in which the more adventurous spirits used to contend, and which sometimes terminated with one or more falls, and sometimes with a serious accident. The more weighty events of the previous days used to be varied with such light things as a hack race of native tats ridden by their owners, generally the most strikingly comical of all the races. To see these tats, sometimes as lean as Don Quixote's Rosinante, and ridden often by native lads who had to hold on with both hands, furnished a great deal of laughter. There used to be also *cheroot* races, in which the successful rider had to bring in a lighted cheroot at the end; and races in which the winner was he who arrived the last! Professional European jockeys rode in the principal events.

### *Balls.*

Many opportunities were made or found for balls, dinner parties, and other such festive occasions. Dinners and bachelors' lunches have been described in another place, as well as the major picnic excursions which came off under the pretext of tiger shooting. The minor picnics generally restricted themselves to a few ladies and gentlemen, and sometimes younger folk, who spent the day in some freedom at one or other of the ruins or picturesque spots which for more than a mile surrounded the old native city. There were the annual station ball, the Christmas ball, the race ball, the military and civilian balls, the planters' ball, and other balls. The annual ball used to be by general subscription, for the expenses for a champagne supper were considerable in those days. The Christmas ball sometimes used to be merged into the annual station ball, and sometimes not, especially when there were a number of new ladies present. The race ball, given by the Race Committee, came off after the race week, and generally commanded the largest attendance. The planters' ball, given by one or more planters, happened either before or after the indigo season. These were all occasions when all the out stations were represented. The civilian and military balls were given by the civilians and the military, who, in this respect, with the planters, fought a triangular festive combat. There was no Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal then, but, subsequently, when he appeared on the scene, whenever he happened to arrive at the station, about once every two years or so, a ball was got up in his honor by the principal residents.

At these balls, of course, only the Upper Ten, the three "sets," figured. Ladies, being few, used to be got from very great



## 192 *Social Life in Bengal fifty years ago, &c.*

distances, and were generally found to make the sacrifice. The stately quadrille, the gay waltzes, and country dances, were in vogue in those days, and no one had even heard of a polka. At about 8 or 9 P.M. the ball opened; at about 11 or 11½ P.M. there was the adjournment to the supper. When it was over, generally in about an hour, dancing was resumed to the strains of the military band, lent for the occasion by the Colonel, and continued by the more youthful members of the party to the small hours of the morning.

### *Conclusion.*

We have taken a glance at the days gone by and contrasted them with the present, what is most marked in these degenerate times is the loss of individual freedom and play. Everything is set hard and fast within rules and red-tape. The man who would do anything must go out of the service to do it,—nay, the influence of a degenerate age follows him even there, and checks and hinders all free growth. Men are being dwarfed down like Japanese plants, all round, or are being born dwarfed. What will be the end of the present state of things in—say, a century? Shall we attempt a prediction from what we see around us? The natives will simply rise to a level with the Europeans, the latter dwarfed and restricted, the former puffed out and swollen; power and rule will then come to be almost evenly divided between the black and the white “brothers,”—and the natural result of the vast numerical superiority of the former will be seen in their entirely displacing the latter. Our Empire in the East will then have departed. First we were unjust to our own poorer Europeans and East Indians, regarding them as lower than the Hindus and Mahomedans. Next we forced on the natives the merest externals of an education and a civilisation which no Oriental people will ever accept in its essence and entirety,—not even the Parsees and Jews who are the most progressive of the races of Asia, much less the Hindus and Mahomedans. Who but a mad man can ever hope to make Englishmen of such materials? And now, the natural result is that the native mind has lost that reverence and respect for us, as for a superior race, which has been the “divinity which hedged us in” so long. The breaking out into external manifestations of the changes going on within, cannot be very far off.

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### THE QUARTER.

**T**HE following appeared as a Postscript to the Quarter in the Calcutta edition of our last number :—

Things before Kandahar remained in the state above described till the 20th instant, when the Amir shifted his position to Karez-niko, a movement to which Ayub responded by occupying old Kandahar and the villages between it and the new city.

On the morning of the 22nd, certain movements of the Amir brought a portion of his force within range of Ayub's guns, which opened a heavy fire on them, and a general engagement, in which the Amir seems to have assumed the offensive, followed. For some hours the fighting appears to have been of a desultory and half-hearted description ; but about noon two Kabuli regiments, forming part of Ayub's army, and posted in the rear, treacherously fired into the Ghazis and Irregulars in front of them, causing a panic which ended in the breaking up and flight of the entire force.

Both sides seem to have been pretty evenly matched as regards numbers, each having 15,000 or 16,000 men, while the advantage in guns was slightly on the side of the Amir. The whole of Ayub's guns and baggage fell into the hands of the victors, who shortly after occupied Kandahar. Ayub himself made good his retreat by the Baba Wali Kotal. There was no pursuit, and the loss on either side was insignificant.

*The 28th September 1881.*

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**T**HE capture of Kandahar was followed on the 4th October by that of Herat, after a battle outside the city in which Ayub's forces were totally defeated. Ayub himself is officially reported to have taken refuge in Persian territory, and active opposition to the Ameer's authority appears to have almost entirely subsided.

The cessation of anxiety on account of the affairs of Afghanistan has left the Government of India free to devote all its energies to questions of domestic policy, and the past three months have witnessed distinct and detailed pronouncements of Lord Ripon's views in almost every branch of the administration. The financial, the educational, the municipal, and the agricultural



policy of the Government have all formed the subjects of separate minutes, the views enunciated displaying, in each case, a marked advance. The impression that had grown up during the earlier days of the new regime, that *quieta non movere* was to be its guiding principle, and that the policy of masterly inactivity was to be extended from foreign to domestic affairs, has been succeeded by a doubt whether it is not embarking in too multifarious, if not too ambitious, a programme.

If, however, the various minutes that have been recorded on the great questions it has determined to take in hand, are examined, it will be found that in no case is there any indication of either innovation or precipitancy. The policy to be pursued is in every instance a development of established principles, and for the most part, of principles that have already been proved in practice and endorsed by the verdict of public opinion.

To take the financial policy embodied in the minute of September last. The measures of decentralisation comprised in it are simply an extension of the scheme tentatively initiated by Lord Mayo in 1870.

Under Lord Mayo's scheme the local Governments had certain heads of expenditure made over to them, along with the corresponding receipts and a fixed subsidy estimated to cover the difference between the two. Any surplus that might arise was to be at their disposal, while, on the other hand, they were to make good any deficit. This scheme was extended in 1877 as regards all the Governments except that of Madras, by assigning to them certain additional heads of income along with the responsibility for local and provincial works. The agreements under which these arrangements were made, have either expired, or would have expired in the current year. Under the new arrangement, which is to come into force throughout the country from the commencement of the financial year 1882-83, the system of fixed subsidies will cease, and in its stead each province will have made over to it a certain proportion of the land revenue collected within its limits. At the same time all but a few heads of expenditure and revenue, are to be made over either wholly or in part to the local Governments. A further change is that, whereas, under the previous arrangements, the Supreme Government reserved to itself the right to modify its grants in case of severe fiscal pressure, such as might arise from a failure of the opium revenue, war or famine, it has now pledged itself to make no call on the local Governments except in the case of disaster so abnormal as to exhaust the Imperial reserves and resources, and necessitate a suspension of the entire machinery of public improvement throughout the empire. At the same time the local



Governments will be bound, on their side, to meet their own famine requirements, within certain limits determined by the extent of their resources. Provincial resources, runs the Resolution "consist of (1) current income during the period of distress; (2) accumulated savings of past years, in excess of the ordinary 'working balance'; and (3) the margin of provincialised income over expenditure in normal years, which is the Provincial Government's profit on the contract available for public improvements. Upon these, provincial responsibility will be enforced in proportion to their nature. The first should be entirely exhausted, every avoidable expense in every department being retrenched, and the Public Works grants being applied to famine works to the very utmost possible. The second should be drawn upon to two-thirds only of their total amount. The third will, in the first place, be made liable to whatever extent may be necessary, in addition to the ordinary Public Works grants, for the completion of works begun as relief works under the pressure of famine. In cases where no such need for completion remains after a famine, this third resource will be chargeable up to one-fourth, at most, for payment of interest of Imperial loans (if any) which have been raised to meet the excess cost of that famine in the Province."

In the years 1879-80, and 1880-81 the local Governments were called upon to contribute £670,000 in the aggregate towards the cost of the Afghan war, and this sum the Supreme Government promises, in the event of a sufficient surplus accruing in the current year, to re-imburse. The advantage of the new system is that, on the one hand, the local Governments will be as far as possible relieved from all uncertainty about their future resources, while, on the other, they will acquire a direct interest in the most important item of imperial revenue collected by them.

Constantaneously with these important changes the local Governments are exhorted to follow the example of decentralisation thus set them and inaugurate more liberal systems of self-government by making over to properly constituted local agencies a considerable portion of the provincial revenues, to be expended on such branches of administration as may be most conveniently entrusted to their control. With this view they are invited "to undertake a careful scrutiny of Provincial, Local, and Municipal accounts, with the view of ascertaining (1) what items of receipt and charge can be transferred from 'Provincial' to 'Local' heads, for administration by Committees comprising non-official, and wherever possible, elected members, and what items already 'Local' but not so administered, might suitably be so; (2) what redistribution of items is desirable in order to lay on Local and



Municipal bodies those which are best understood and appreciated by the people; (3) what measures, legislative or otherwise, are necessary to ensure more local self-government. Incidentally to the scrutiny they will probably notice, and might carefully consider, (4), ways of equalizing local and municipal taxation throughout the Empire, checking severe or unsuitable imposts, and favouring forms most in accordance with popular opinion or sentiment."

The views of the Government of India regarding Municipal Government have found further expression in a letter to the Government of Bengal according sanction to the bill to amend the Calcutta Municipal Consolidation Act, and in more than one of the addresses delivered by the Viceroy to Municipal bodies during his late tour in Upper India. The tendency of these views is towards the extension to Municipalities in practice of the fullest liberty of action or in action compatible with the law, except in those extreme cases in which public interests of paramount importance would suffer seriously from non-interference. Hitherto the practice has been to let Municipalities have their own way only where the Local Government feels little or no interest in their decisions, in all other cases either official pressure has been brought to bear to secure a favourable vote, or the Municipal Commissioners have been given plainly to understand that an adverse vote would be followed by Government intervention.

The main occasion of this declaration of the Government of India in favour of a more tolerant and liberal course of action has been the inclusion in the Calcutta Act, already referred to, of a provision enabling the local Government to compel the Municipality to extend the water supply to certain portions of the Suburbs. While assenting to the Bill, the Viceroy, remarks on this point that it is not without hesitation that he "accords his consent to an enactment which interferes, even upon justifiable grounds, with the free action of the Municipality of Calcutta in a matter properly falling within its legitimate functions. Having regard to the great importance attaching to the development of municipal and other similar institutions in India, it appears to the Governor-General most desirable to avoid, as far as possible, taking any step which may have the appearance of arresting the growth of such institutions, or of unduly restricting their liberty of action. In making these remarks, he is not forgetful of the fact that municipal bodies may not always arrive at correct conclusions, and that their mode of transacting business may at times delay the prompt execution of important measures of local improvement. Proceedings of this kind naturally have the effect of dissatisfying the Executive Government, on which rests



the ultimate responsibility of providing for the legitimate wants of the people, and which therefore may reasonably feel itself impelled to interpose for the purpose of forcing the municipal authorities concerned to recognise, and act up to, their proper obligations. Such interference is doubtless in some cases unavoidable ; but it is none the less desirable that, in dealing with the shortcomings of local representative bodies, all possible patience and forbearance should be shown. It must be remembered that the introduction of municipal institutions into India is only of comparatively recent date, and that, even in England, where such institutions are of long growth, and are consonant with the habits of the people, many instances might be adduced from the records of Town Councils and other local bodies, not only in the past, but also in the present day, of proceedings little, if at all, less open to criticism than the most noticeable of the cases which have given ground for complaint in this country.

But although in the opinion of the Governor-General municipal and other local bodies in India have exceptional claims to be treated with patience and consideration, he does not wish to imply that there should be no limit to the extent to which such bodies should be allowed to abuse their powers, or neglect their duties ; and he readily admits that the case of a large city, such as Calcutta, which is surrounded by important suburbs under separate municipal management, is one which, as has been shown by experience in England, is especially difficult to deal with, and in which therefore legislative interference may at times be not only warrantable, but indispensable. His Excellency does not desire to enter into the discussions which have taken place regarding the water-supply of Calcutta and the Suburbs, nor does he wish his action in assenting to the present Bill to be interpreted as condemnatory of the views of those gentlemen who opposed it. He thinks it sufficient to say that, after a careful consideration of all the circumstances, it seems to him clear that the water required for the wants of the Town and Suburbs should be supplied from the same source, and managed on the same system. In order to carry out such a scheme, however, the conflicting interests of the separate municipal bodies concerned must be reconciled, and the plan of placing the Government of Bengal in the position of an arbitrator in the matter of water-supply between the Town of Calcutta and the Suburbs seems both a reasonable and convenient one. At the same time the Governor-General is decidedly of opinion—and he trusts that this opinion will be shared by His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor—that the local Government should refrain from exercising the powers conferred by section 15 of the Bill, unless it should



be clearly shown that a satisfactory arrangement for the joint water-supply of the Town and Suburbs cannot be otherwise secured. It should also be clearly understood that the burdens of the Calcutta rate-payers are not to be increased owing to the extension of the water-system to any of the environs of the Town."

There is much to be said in favour of this policy. The very basis of self-government is liberty of action, and any limitation of that liberty should apply, not to the choice to be made, but to the subject matter in respect of which the option is granted. To give men the power of voting for or against a certain course of action, and at the same time to put pressure on them to vote one way or the other, is scarcely calculated to develop in them a sense either of their own responsibility, or of respect for the honesty of their rulers.

In his speech to the Municipal Committee at Delhi, the Viceroy spoke at length on the same topic and in a similar spirit. "I am very well aware," he said, "that such a work as that of developing self-government in a country like this must necessarily be a gradual work; that it must be carried out in one way in one part of this great Peninsula, and in another way in another;—that one portion of the country may be more fit for the wide application of the principles of self-government than another; but the object of that resolution was to call public and official attention to the great importance of the principle itself, and to mark emphatically the desire of the Government that every effort should be made to afford it all that development and extension which the special circumstances of each locality might render possible. I look upon the extension of self-government as the best means at the disposal of the Government of India at the present time for promoting and extending the political education of the people of this country. I have no doubt that there are in India, just as there are in England, municipal bodies that are not always wise, that are sometimes found to obstruct measures of importance, and possibly, even seriously to neglect their duties, I very well recollect, a good many years ago, the late Lord Palmerston, who, as you know, was a great English minister, telling the House of Commons, when he was advocating sanitary reform, that there was always in every town in England a clean party and a dirty party—a party that was in favour of a good water-supply and good drainage, and a party opposed to measures of that kind. I have not the least doubt that there is a clean party and a dirty party in the towns and cities of India, and I can quite understand that to men zealous for improvement, it may often be trying to



to see important schemes calculated to confer great benefits on a large community postponed, or marred, or laid aside, from ignorance, or apathy, or indifference. But I may venture to say to those who may be not unnaturally impatient at such untoward occurrences, that they should not let their impatience run away with them to the extent of allowing them to obstruct or abandon the principle of self-government. Patience is necessary in the beginning of all things; it is necessary in the conduct of all public affairs, especially where a more or less numerous body of men have been brought together, and I would ask those whose favourite schemes may be thwarted or opposed, to remember that the establishment, development, and practical working of self-government is in itself a great benefit to the country; that it is not only an end to be pursued, but a great object of political education to be attained, and therefore we may well put up with disappointment and annoyance rather than sweep away those institutions which are calculated in the end, as they become better understood and as the people become more accustomed to work them, to confer large benefits upon the community in general. Gentlemen, I therefore desire, and my colleagues desire with me, to see the powers and independence of local bodies increased and extended as opportunity may offer. We desire to see the principle of election extended where it may be possible, although we are well aware that we can only proceed gradually and tentatively in that direction."

The true policy of the Government seems to be to restrict the control of Municipalities to such matters as can be entrusted to them with a fair degree of confidence, and, having done so, to give them the utmost possible discretion within those limits. Where they cannot be trusted to decide rightly, or where the consequences of error would be so serious that it would be opposed to public interests to encounter the risk of their deciding wrongly, they should not be invited to decide at all.

On the question of State education, the views of the Government have not been expressed with so much detail. Enough, however, is known to indicate that it has decided on a considerable extension of the means of primary instruction, while it is disposed to reduce within much narrower limits the existing expenditure of public money on the higher education of the well-to-do classes. A strong Committee is about to sit in Calcutta to consider the question of a complete reorganisation of this branch of the administration; but any change that may be introduced will probably be gradual in its operation. Of all subjects, next to taxation, this is, perhaps, the one which excites the greatest amount of feeling among the upper section of the



native community, especially in Bengal, where the Babu has come to look upon the free education of his children in the English language as part of the duty of the Government, and opposition to any extensive reduction of the expenditure under this head will probably be both vigorous and widespread.

The subject of education for the children of the poorer classes of Europeans and Eurasians has also formed the subject of a Minute distinguished as much by its sympathetic tone as by the thoughtfulness and liberality of the scheme described in it.

The interval between the Simla and Calcutta seasons has been utilised by the Viceroy for the purpose of a tour of portions of Upper India and Rajputana, the places visited including Delhi, Agra, Jeypore, Amber, Ajmir, Chittor and Benares. His Excellency's reception was every where of the most enthusiastic description, and in Rajputana was marked by a magnificent display of barbaric pomp, combined with lavish hospitality. The various ceremonies gone through scarcely call for description here. Of the addresses delivered, all that need be said is that they were marked by more than the usual cordiality on the one side and on the other by a warmth of sympathy which cannot fail to win for Lord Ripon an exalted place in the estimation of the chiefs and people who were their recipients.

One of the first acts of the Government since its arrival in Calcutta has been the publication of a Resolution, bearing date December 8th, on the organisation of Agricultural Departments in India. The main object of these Departments, which will be under the provincial administrations, will be the carrying out of the programme sketched in the Report of the Famine Commission, *i. e.* *Firstly*.—More complete and systematic ascertaining and rendering available of the statistics of vital, agricultural and economic facts for every part of India in order that Government and its officers may always be in possession of an adequate knowledge of the actual condition of the country, its population, and resources.

*Secondly*.—The general improvement of Indian agriculture with the view of increasing the food-supply and general resources of the people.

*Thirdly*.—Better and prompt organization of famine relief whenever the actual approach of famine may be indicated by the statistical information.

Pending the full consideration by the local Governments of the Draft Famine Code prepared by the Commissioners, the third of these subjects will, however, be held in abeyance. The data for carrying out the second item in the programme have yet to be ascertained. It is to the first point accordingly that the attention



of the Departments will be immediately confined, "consideration being primarily given to the development of a permanent organisation in each province of such a character as may be most compatible with existing administrative arrangements, with the view of confiding to it the execution of those measures which may be required for the maintenance of a thorough system of agricultural inquiry."

The collection of agricultural statistics, the investigation of local conditions, with a view to ascertaining what special obstacles exist to agricultural improvement and by what means they can be most readily removed, will be the earliest work to be undertaken, the broader questions of general improvement being deferred till the analysis already indicated has been completed.

As far as possible, the work of the Department will be carried out through the agency of existing establishments, the settlement establishments, being utilised for the purpose wherever available, and the resolution impresses on the local Governments the necessity of securing the co-operation of native gentlemen who are interested in Indian Agriculture and acquainted with its details, as well as the European community of planters and landlords. The resolution concludes by thus summing up the views of the Government:—

The views of the Government of India may be summed up by saying that the foundation of the work of an Indian Agricultural Department should be the accurate investigation of facts with the view of ascertaining what administrative course is necessary to preserve the stability of agricultural operations. It is desired, therefore, that the new departments should be so constituted as to give the fullest effect to this policy. The primary efforts of the Departments should, when established, be devoted to the organization of agricultural inquiry, which has been shown to comprise the duties of gauging the stability of agricultural operations in every part of a province, of classifying the areas of the province according to the results of careful investigation, and of deciding what method of administrative treatment is suitable to each, so as to maintain agricultural operations up to the highest standard of efficiency possible under present conditions. From a system of agricultural enquiries thus conducted will follow the gradual development of agricultural improvement in its manifold variety, and the Government of India will be satisfied if, on the first constitution of an agricultural Department, the organisation of agricultural inquiry is placed in the hands of qualified officials, to whom may be committed the subsequent preparation of carefully considered proposals for agricultural improvement.

*The 15th December 1881.*

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of the paper, and it is a very interesting and valuable addition to the collection of the British Museum. The paper is of a very fine quality, and the printing is of a very high standard. The text is very clear and legible, and the illustrations are of a very high quality. The paper is of a very fine quality, and the printing is of a very high standard. The text is very clear and legible, and the illustrations are of a very high quality.

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The 12th December 1891



## CRITICAL NOTICES.

### GENERAL LITERATURE.

*The Gun and its Development; with Notes on Shooting.*—By W. W. Greener, Author of "Modern Breech-loaders," "Choke-bore Guns," etc., Cassell, Petter, Galpin and Co.: London, Paris and New York.

**M**R. GREENER'S previous works on guns are a guarantee for the excellence of at least a great portion of this one. On everything regarding the making and qualities of guns, there could hardly be a better authority.

The present work not only treats of modern guns, but goes at considerable length into the history of the weapon in all its forms, and winds up with a mass of thoroughly practical information on shooting and shooting-grounds at home and abroad, while the copious illustrations contained in it add largely to its utility.

The following remarks on the art of shooting on the wing are from the latter portion of the work. Mr. Greener's views about "holding ahead," and "holding on," will probably not be generally accepted.

As to the art of shooting on the wing, opinions widely different are credited by many well-experienced sportsmen. The lines of Watts, although old, are, however, applicable to modern sportsmen. The gist of his advice is contained in the following rhymes on Shooting Flying:—

"A few remarks may this explain,  
Yet long 'twill take that art to gain,  
Unless, with zealous patience, you  
The following advice pursue:—  
Remembering that nothing will  
So certainly advance your skill  
As sober habits, which preserve  
Both strength of mind and strength of nerve—  
Two matters that are influential  
In many sports, in this—essential!  
Walk, with a steady dog, o'er ground  
Where partridges are quickly found.  
However numerous they rise,  
Look but at one, with both your eyes;  
Then, elevate the tube with care,  
Still gazing on the bird in air;  
Follow it ~~not~~ along the sky  
To take a formal aim, but try



To draw the trigger just as you  
 At the gun's end the object view.  
 Nine times in ten the gun is right  
 At first, obeying well the sight ;  
 But if you look, and look again,  
 And doubt, and waver, it is plain  
 Your hand has ev'ry chance to be  
 Betrayed by such uncertainty.  
 Proceed, then, as I just have taught,  
 The pleasing knack will soon be caught ;  
 But let me re-advise (for this  
 Prevents, I'am certain, many a miss) ;  
 Close neither eye, some good shots say,  
 Shut up your left, that's not my way ;  
 But still, a man may take his oath  
 He'd better shut one eye than both."

It is now acknowledged that it is better to make use of both eyes, and to pay no attention whatever to the gun whilst aiming. In short, the *eye*, *hand*, and *trigger* must act in perfect unison, and without any consideration having to be given to either. On a bird rising, the hands should *intuitively* raise the gun until it covers the object, from off which the eyes are not taken before the trigger is pulled. This only requires practice, and if such is forthcoming, and the body kept in perfect health, a good wing shot is sure to result.

Health is undoubtedly of the greatest importance to professional shots, and is necessary to good shooting. It cannot be expected that one who has not the power over his muscles to keep the hand steady can exert them to raise at once a gun and level it to the greatest nicety.

It is now the prevailing notion that most misses are caused by shooting behind or below the mark aimed at. To remedy this, straight stocks are recommended, and the following method has been devised to ascertain whether the gun is properly brought up. The shooter is to place himself three or four yards from a good-sized mirror, and aim at his own eye, raising the gun repeatedly, steadily but quickly, as in shooting at a bird. On looking into the mirror, with the gun as brought up to the shoulder, if the two round holes, or end elevation of the muzzle, is alone discernible in the mirror, the fit and handling of the gun is theoretically correct ; if a little of the lower, or underside, of the barrel is likewise to be seen, so much the better ; but if any of the top rib, or top side, of the barrels figures in the mirror, the chances are that nine shots out of every ten will be below the birds.

Now as to hitting fast-flying birds, and game running at full speed. It is a much-disputed point amongst all who use the gun whether the shooter should "hold on," or "ahead." The latter appears to have best of the argument, theoretically and practically. To prove that either plan is the correct one would be next to impossible, but, with due deference to the majority of sportsmen, we hold with the practice of "holding on." A great deal of the difference doubtless is caused by the manner of bringing up the gun the shooter has acquired ; some bring up the gun with a "swing" in the direction the mark is moving, others bring up the gun and follow the object, whilst the majority of good shots put up the gun, and, it is supposed, fire "ahead." Now, those who shoot with the gun on the "swing," and who *intuitively* increase the speed of the "swing" in the same ratio as the increase in the speed of the mark, never require to "hold ahead," even in the opinion of the strongest supporters of the "hold



ahead" theory. The second class of "poking" shots are generally most uncertain in their aim, and the habit is detrimental to becoming an expert snap shot; whilst we cannot but believe that many who imagine they "hold ahead," in reality "hold on."

In the first place, having practised raising the gun and perfecting the handling so that it shall intuitively follow the eye, it must be most difficult to point the gun away from the object at which both eyes are staring, and if the eyes are removed from the object to some distance ahead, it is impossible to accurately tell what distance the line of aim is from the bird. This is especially the case when gazing at the sky, and for a shooter to be able to aim ten or fifteen yards ahead, as is advised by some wild-fowlers, is next to impossible to do with regularity. When gazing at no fixed object, it is as easy to move  $30^\circ$  across the sky as ten yards, and that without being aware of the discrepancy. Those who hold on, by shooting promptly, prove the truth of the theory that it is necessary for the hand and eye to act in unison; whilst they who hold ahead, although agreeing that the hand must follow the eye, yet so shoot that the hand must point the gun in a different direction to the object on which the eye is fixed.

An ordinary full-choke possesses a killing circle of at least thirty inches in diameter at thirty yards; so that saying a bird crossing was fired at by one of the "holders on," the shot travelling at the rate of 225 yards per second (see Table *ante*), would reach the bird at thirty yards in less than 1-5th of a second from the instant of pulling the trigger, so that it would indeed be a fast-flying bird to get without the killing circle in that time. The time required from the instant of pulling the trigger to the explosion of the cap is greater than that occupied by the shot travelling fifty yards; but in hammerless guns the time is less than in hammer guns, the blow given being much shorter and direct, instead of being conveyed by an exploding-pin.

Some quick shots, however, anticipate the time it takes to fire the gun, and pull the trigger whilst raising the gun to the shoulder. This requires considerable practice to perfect, and the gun must, of course, be within an ace of the proper position; but, however the practice may be deprecated, it is certainly *au fait* for trap as well as general snap shooting.

In grasping the gun, a disputed point is the position of the left hand. As a rule, sportsmen grasp the barrels in the very weakest place—*viz.*, just in front of the cartridge chambers. Others again, to shield themselves as far as possible from danger, grasp the front of the trigger-guard by the left hand. This position is erroneous, as but little command is obtained over the gun, the liability of injury by the breaking of the breech-action is not at all lessened, and usually a piece of horn has to be attached to the trigger-guard, as in Fig. 283, spoiling the beauty and handiness of the gun.

To have full command over the gun, and at the same time exposing the hand and arm to a minimum of risk in case of a burst, *grasp the gun well forward*—if close to the fore-end tip so much the better—but do not bring the hand nearer to the breach than six inches, and keep the elbow well depressed. By having a proper command over the gun, it can be raised quickly and easily, and even a heavy or clumsy gun may be manipulated with tolerable success.

The following on large "bags" may prove interesting:—

#### LARGE BAGS.

Perhaps few topics afford more discussion amongst the shooting community than the subject of large bags, and different persons hold different



opinions respecting them, according to each one's ideal as to what constitutes good sport. Without wishing in any way to take one side or the other, we append a few notes on the largest bags that have been made, as we believe every one will like to be accurately informed as to the largest bags recorded.

*Battue* shooting, a Continental fashion, has, of course, resulted in large bags, and rearing and preserving have to be more strictly persevered in, to keep up the average quantity of game.

Game on the Continent must, however, have been common enough in the eighteenth century, as the following clipping from an old journal will prove :—

"In 1788, a party of ten persons at the château of Prince Adam Daversperg, in Bohemia, who were out *five hours* on the 9th and 10th of September, all wed that the first day 6,168 shots were fired, and 876 hares, 259 pheasants, 362 partridges, besides quails, rabbits, hawks, &c., were bagged, or rather waggoned. On the second day 5,914 shots were discharged, and 181 hares, 634 pheasants, and 736 partridges were killed; in addition to these, in the evening of the second day were picked up 42 hares, 75 pheasants, and 103 partridges, which could not be immediately found in the bustle of the buisness. We are further informed that no peculiar mode was adopted to drive together such a quantity of game."

"Craven," in the *Sporting Magazine* for October 1845, gives an account of six days' shooting he had at that time in Germany. He says a party of a dozen killed, near the Hartz Mountains, in three days' shooting, 13 deer, 56 roes, 10 foxes and 325 hares; and at a shooting party in the plains of Magdeburg, in four days' shooting, no less than 2,400 hares were bagged.

The late King of Naples is said to have killed, at different times, in Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia, 5 bears, 1,820 wild boars, 1,968 stags, 13 wolves, 354 foxes, 15,350 pheasants, 1,121 rabbits, 16,354 hares, 1,625 she-goats, 1,625 roebucks, and 12,435 partridges—in all 52,670 head of game.

In 1755 a hunting party, of which the King of France made one, chased in Bohemia for eighteen days; there were but thirty-three persons in the party, and eight were ladies. Spears, hawks, &c., were employed, as well as guns, but the result of the chase was the bagging of 47,950 head of game and deer, viz. :—19 stags, 10 foxes, 18,243 hares, 19,545 partridges, 9,499 pheasants, 114 larks, 353 quails, and 454 other birds. The Princess Charlotte fired 9,010 shots, the King 1,798 shots, the rest of the party making up the number of shots, to 16,209.

To return to our own country. About twenty-five years ago, Mr. Campbell, of Monzies, N.B., having driven all the grouse into a first-rate beat, sallied forth at daylight with five muzzle-loading guns and a sufficient quota of keepers and watchers, and succeeded in bagging 220 grouse by evening; every "squeaker" was, however, counted.

Lord Walsingham, on the 28th of August 1872, at Blumberhouse, in Yorks, killed 842 grouse in one day to his own gun. This is the largest bag on record.

The next is that of Mr. F. A. Millbank, M.P., a week before that of Lord Walsingham's, and in the same county. The bag, the result of eight drives, was 364 brace; and Mr. Millbank's party, varying from five to nine in number, succeeded in bagging in six days, commencing August 20th, no less than 3,983½ brace, or nearly 8,000 birds. Mr. Millbank's score for the six days, including the 364 brace bagged the first day, was 1,099½ brace.

The largest bag made over dogs was by the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, at Grantully, Perthshire, on the 12th of August 1871. His Highness used three guns, and only one pair of dogs working at a time. He commenced at five



o'clock, and continued until late in the afternoon. The result was, 220 brace of grouse. His Highness has likewise made the largest bag of partridges—namely, 70 birds, hand-reared; this was made at Hall Farm, Griswell, on the 8th of September 1876. The birds were hand-reared and driven, and were bagged with a little more than 1,000 cartridges being fired.

The notes on foreign shooting grounds include even such remote localities as the Arctic Circle and Japan, and nearly thirty pages are given to India and Burmah. Of all the grounds named, perhaps Baffin's Bay is the most attractive, though unfortunately it is accessible only to sportsmen with their own yachts.

#### ARCTIC SPORT.

In the summer months a yachting cruise for sport may advantageously be made, either to Baffin's Bay or Lapland.

If, for the first-mentioned, the best time to leave is about the end of May, and steam to *Disco* in Danish Greenland, reached in four weeks. On *Disco* Island, and on the mainland at a short distance from the settlement, there is plenty of game—Ducks, Seal, Walruses, and a few Deer. Steaming along the coast near *Pröven*, "Looms," are to be seen in myriads. Cockburn Island will give good sport, but if Cape York, is passed, and a small bay called Port Foulke made (lat. 78 deg. 20 N.), it will afford excellent anchorage for eight or ten weeks, and is an unequalled centre for sport. Excursions may be made in its vicinity after the Musk-ox (*Bos Moschattus*), Reindeer, Hares, Foxes, Bears, Walruses and Seals. Sea-fowl of all kinds are numerous, including Ducks, Auks, Dovekies, Looms, Rotjes, and others barely classified.

It will be daylight almost the whole time, so that sport can be carried on without intermission.

The outfit should include a whale boat and harpoon gun, Express Rifles, and 10-bore shot guns.

In an easterly cruise during the summer or autumn, there is little chance of Walrus until rounding Cape North, and there it will only be found on icefloes. Walrus-hunters start annually from Tromsö, and coast along Novaiya Zemlya and Siberia, as far as Cape Taiymir. Sometimes great success is met with, at others sport is indifferent. Reindeer, Polar Bears, Foxes, Swans, Geese, Ducks, Ptarmigan, and many other birds are plentiful along the coast of Lapland and the borders of the White Sea, but this trip is not likely to prove so successful for sport as that to Baffin's Bay. An Express Rifle and a 10-bore shot gun will be equal to the sport, unless Walrus-hunting is determined upon.

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*Indo-Aryans: Contributions towards the Elucidation of their Ancient and Mediæval History.* By Rájendralála Mitra, C.I.E. In two volumes. Calcutta, W. Newman & Co., 3, Dalhousie Square. London: Edward Stanford, 55, Charing Cross. 1881.

THE contents of these two volumes of Dr. Rájendralála Mitra's are accurately described in the title he has prefixed to them. They are a series of more or less elaborate essays, each of which is a valuable contribution, and several of which are highly valuable



contributions, to the Ancient, or the Mediæval, history of the Indian branch of the great Aryan race, while at least one of them, that on the primitive Aryans, takes a wider scope, and discusses the relations and conditions of the primitive Aryans as a body and their various migrations. But they are, after all, only essays, and as such are rather materials for history than history itself. The very order in which they are placed is non-historical; for, if governed by any principle at all, it is not that of chronological sequence. A history of even the Indo-Aryans, much less of the Aryan race, is at present, and possibly will always remain in the fullest sense of the word, an impossibility. At least the positive data available for the purpose are so scanty, that any history which should be free from all admixture of speculative matter would be almost too brief to deserve the name.

Much of the matter in the volumes before us is of a speculative character, and not a little of it is distinctly controversial in treatment and tone. But it is none the less interesting or instructive for this reason. Sometimes, however, Dr. Rájendralála Mitra is inclined to be a little too dogmatic. As an instance of this we may take his assertion, in the essay on the primitive Aryans, that there is no instance in history in which one nation has voluntarily accepted the language of another. This positive and sweeping statement, is not only not correct, unless the word "voluntarily" is used in a most restricted sense, but it is quite unnecessary to prove the conclusion that the Indo-European languages have descended from one primitive language and race.

One of the most interesting of the essays is that on the origin of the Hindi dialects. In Dr. Rájendralála Mitra's view that they are essentially Sanskritic, and derived from Sanskrit by direct descent through the Prakrits, we agree; but we are inclined to think he underrates the amount of the non-Aryan element incorporated in Hindi, and we are referring here not to foreign accretions, like the Arabic of late date, but to an element which is evidently the survival of a primitive aboriginal Indian language, or languages, being, in all probability, the language or languages of a people, or peoples, who were absorbed by the Aryan conquerors of India, or who at least came to be incorporated as inferior castes in the Hindu community. The subject is very far from having been thoroughly investigated, but we believe it will be found that the names of a large proportion of the commonest objects in *thenth* Hindi are non-Aryan.

Among the subjects discussed in the essays are the architecture and sculpture; the dress and ornaments; the furniture, household utensils, musical instruments and carriages; the dietary and the funeral and coronation ceremonies of the ancient Hindus.



Human sacrifices in ancient India; the identity of the Yavanas with the Greeks; the history of the Pala and Sena dynasties; Bhoj Raja and his homonyms; the early life of Asoka; the vestiges of the kings of Gwalior and the origin of the Sanskrit alphabet are also discussed.

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*A Bengali Primer in Roman Character :* By J. F. Browne, B. C. S., London. Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill.

THIS work, as far as we have been able to test it, combines accuracy with extreme simplicity. Consisting of only thirty short pages, it, of course, makes no pretension to exhaustiveness, but, as an introduction to the study of more elaborate works, it comes as near perfection as possible. Of the principle of Romanisation we, for many reasons, disapprove, and the only argument of any importance that can be urged in its favour, appears to us to be based on the most shadowy foundation. It abridges and simplifies, we are told, the task of the learner. Now, since the character cannot, at the most, take more hours to learn than the language does months, the amount of time saved cannot exceed about one-thirtieth of the whole, and it cannot for a moment be maintained that this infinitesimal gain is worth the sacrifice of one of the essential conditions of thoroughness. It is true, there is a class of students who are liable to be frightened by the hieroglyphic aspect of an Oriental alphabet, and for such students, no doubt, Romanisation removes a stumbling-block which they would perhaps never otherwise have got over. But we have no hesitation in saying that students who are so readily frightened had better not attempt the study of Oriental languages at all. We are aware, of course, that other arguments are urged in favour of Romanisation. A hope, for instance, is entertained in some quarters that native usage may itself be revolutionised, and an approach made towards a common character by popularising the Roman alphabet in India. Not only, however, is this hope utterly chimerical, but the consummation which is its object is not at all to be desired.

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That India should be governed in India, and for India, by men of special experience, subject to as little interference from Home as possible ; that taxation should be suited to the conditions of the country, subject to the cardinal principles of fairness, convenience of the tax-payer, economy of collection, greatest possible width of distribution, and absence of annoyance and oppression, and that every effort should be made to develop the wealth of the country ; these are the main points insisted on by the writer. Were it not that our later administration has largely ignored almost all these principles, they might be pronounced truisms.

Dr. Murdoch condemns in the strongest terms the attempt to govern India from Home ; the system of Permanent Settlements, direct taxation, the repeal of the cotton duties. On all these points we are entirely in accord with what he says. The question of the opium policy of the Government, which he regards as the greatest blot on our rule, is a more dubious one.

While of opinion that natives should be employed as largely as possible, he is sufficiently liberal in the limits which he admits to this "possible," thinking that there should be at least two European officers, a Magistrate and Collector, in each district, and insisting on the retention of a highly trained special Civil Service. "It is possible," he says, "that well-meaning men at home may advocate the appointment of Natives to all positions in the Civil Service. Let this be done when it can with safety to the country, but not till then. The Queen's Proclamation contains the words:—'And it is our further will that, so far as may be, Our subjects, of whatever Race or Creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our Service, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge.'

The Proclamation is conditional, and a Native Civilian, especially a *Bengali* Civilian, has not the 'ability' to head an armed party of police, to put down a riot, or to defend his bungalow against attack, like a European."

A considerable portion of the letter is devoted to the subject of taxation, and especially to the question of the repeal of the cotton duties. It is to the customs, the writer thinks, that the Government should look for all necessary additions to the revenue, and he would re-impose the cotton duties, and at the same time, in order to obviate their operating protectively, subject the local manufactures to an equivalent tax.

